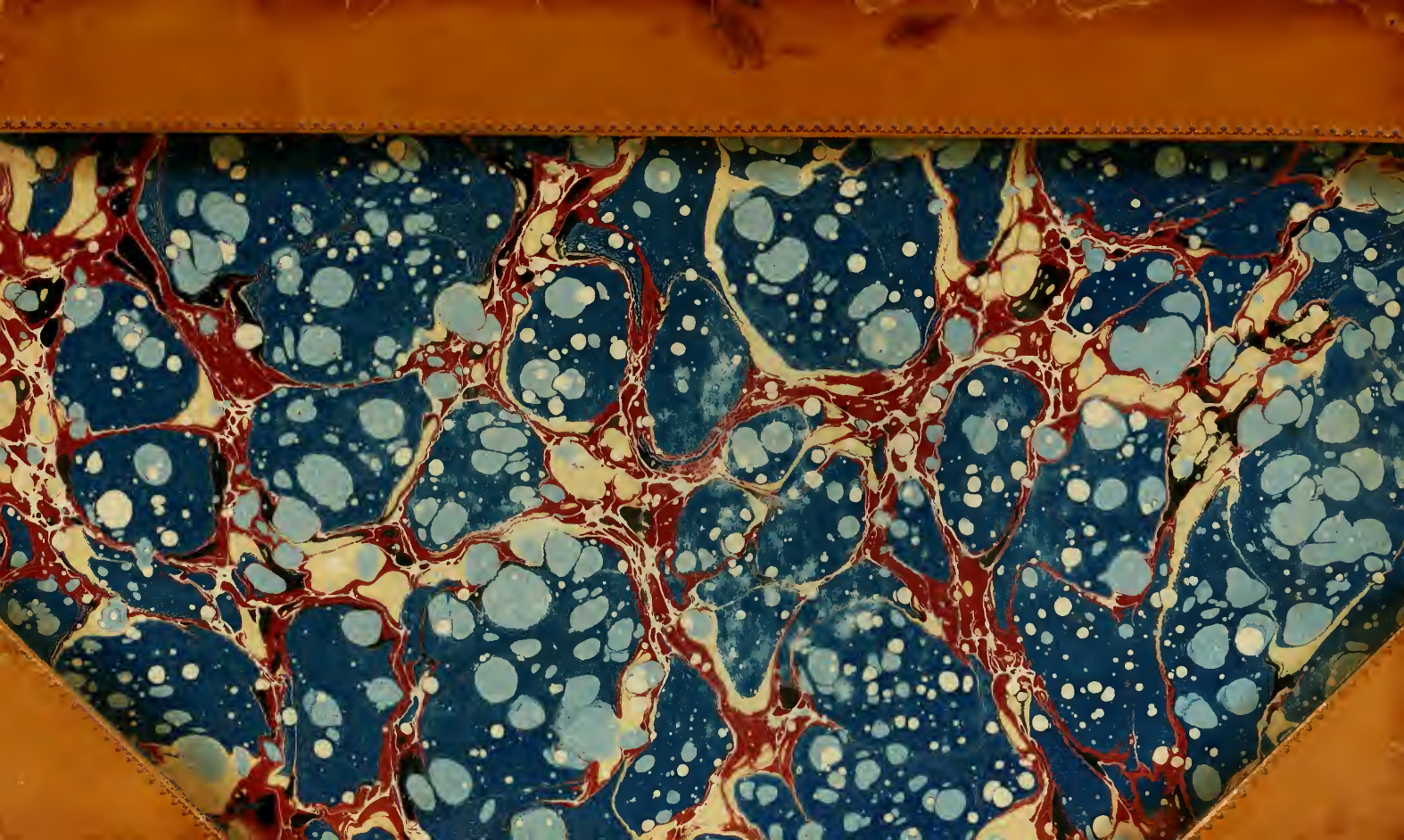

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W.W. Carr, Inv.t & Pinx.t | Boultby delin. | Barlow Sculpsit.

Weep every brimfull flower; promiscuous weep
Ye swelling cataracts with me and dissolve
In heavy murmurs hoarse — Ah useless lyre!
Ah lyre! the parent of each pregnant tear!
And lamentable deed! —

Julianus, Apostata, emperor of Rome

THE WORKS

OF THE

EMPEROR JULIAN,

AND

SOME PIECES

OF THE

SOPHIST LIBANIUS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

WITH

NOTES from PETAU, LA BLETERIE, GIBBON, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JOVIAN,

From the French of the Abbé DE LA BLETERIE.

By JOHN DUNCOMBE, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION CORRECTED.

Him Poesy, Philosophy, deplore,
The sceptre'd Patriot, who distinctions wav'd,
Lord of himself, by Pagan rites enslav'd;
Whom all, but Christians, held their common friend,
Whose very errors had a virtuous end.——IRWIN.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON,
Printed for T. CADELL, in the STRAND.

1798.

PREFACE.

THE Abbè de la Bleterie publiſhed, in 1735, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julien*, 12mo. * To this he added, in 1748, *L'Hiſtoire de l'Empereur Jovien, et Traductions de quelques Ouvrages de l'Empereur Julien*, in two volumes, ſmall 8vo. Both theſe works are executed with uncommon elegance and judgement, and have been very ſerviceable to me in the following tranſlations. With great ſagacity the Abbè has explained and enlightened ſeveral ambiguous and obſcure paſſages; and many others he has happily illuſtrated, though, in general, by endeavouring to give the idea of his author as he preſumes "Julian himſelf would have expreſſed it, if he had written in French,"

* Bleterie's Life is indeed a very elegant one, and writ with much candour and impartiality. He is no deep man in the learning of thoſe times, but his good ſenſe generally enables him to ſeize the right. WARBURTON.

' of the learned languages ?' The excellent " Latin verſion of Father Petau * has already " placed Julian within the reach of thoſe " who are not ſufficiently acquainted with " Greek to read the original ; and the cele- " brated Satire of THE CÆSARS, publiſhed " in French by M. Spanheim †, with a long " and

* PETAU DIONYSIUS [or PETAVIUS], a Jeſuit, was one of the moſt learned men of his age. He was born in the city of Orleans, and honoured it by his merit. He was a vaſt genius, formed for literature, and rendered himſelf a prodigy of knowledge. For, beſides the learned languages, which he wrote and ſpoke with the greateſt fluency, there never was a divine more profound, an hiſtorian better informed, an orator more eloquent, a critic more judicious, a poet more ingenious and more flowery. In ſhort, of nothing in literature he was ignorant. His excellent works leave no room to doubt this truth. Father Petau entered among the Jeſuits in the year 1605, which was the 22d of his age. He was profeſſor there of eloquence, and afterwards of ſacred literature, and during the forty-eight years that he lived there in a moſt exemplary and edifying manner, he was the ornament of his ſociety, the friend of all men of learning, the admiration of foreigners, and, in a word, one of the moſt excellent geniuſes in France in the XVIIth century. F. Petau died in the college of Clermont, at Paris, on the 11th of December, 1652, aged 69. See his Life, written by another great man, Henry de Valois, his intimate friend, with the funeral elogiums of the learned. Beſides numerous other works, he printed, in 1613, XVI orations of Themiſtius, in Greek and Latin, with notes and conjectures of his own ; and in 1634 [rather 1630], he publiſhed the works of the Emperor Julian, 4to. &c.

MORERI.

† SPANHEIM EZEKIEL, the eldeſt ſon of Frederick Spanheim, profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, was born at Geneva, in

" and learned commentary, has inſtructed " the moſt intelligent, without offending the " moſt ignorant *."

Of all the remaining works of Julian, both thoſe which are here tranſlated, and thoſe which are not, M. de la Bleterie has given the following very accurate account:

" Independently of thoſe faults of his " age, which Julian has not ſufficiently " avoided, I mean a taſte for declamation, " and the malady of quoting inceſſantly the " ancients, eſpecially the divine Homer, " whether by way of ornament, or even of " proof, I queſtion whether the two PANE-

in the year 1629. For proofs of his extenſive learning ſee his work *de præſtantiâ et uſu numiſmatum*, his Diſſertation on a medal of the Abderites, his five letters to Morell, a famous antiquary and medalliſt, which have been printed with the *Specimen univerſæ rei nummariæ antiquæ*, which the ſame Morell publiſhed at Leipſic, in 1695; his notes on Callimachus, and on the CÆSARS of the Emperor Julian, and ſome other treatiſes, whoſe title may be ſeen in Moreri, Paris edition, 1695. You may there alſo find a ſeries of all the employments to which he was ſucceſſively raiſed at the courts of various princes, till he was ſent for the fourth time to the court of France [by the Elector of Brandenburgh], after the peace of Ryſwick. He continued at Paris from that time to the beginning of the year 1701, when he was ſent ambaſſador to England by his maſter, the new king of Pruſſia [with the title and dignity of Baron]. He died there Oct. 28, 1710, aged 81. BAYLE.

* *Preface à la Vie de Julien*, p. 1—3.

"to himself. But this long discourse pre-
"sents such a confused mixture of meta-
"physics and physics; it has so much ver-
"bosity, so little justice and precision, that
"it can do no honour but to the fecundity
"of Julian, who composed it in the space
"of three nights.

"He employed only one in making the
"ELOGIUM ON THE MOTHER OF THE GODS*.
"It was composed at Pessinuntus in Phrygia,
"where was a temple of that Goddess, ap-
"parently to revive the zeal of the people.
"He tortures his genius and imagination to
"explain allegorically the fable of Cybele
"and Atys, with the ceremonies of their
"worship. All these efforts terminate merely
"in publishing, with the tone of an enthu-

* *Orat.* V. One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honour of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious Emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the Goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and sentiment, and divine power. For the truth of this prodigy he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those men, who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of their ancestors. GIBBON.

"siast,

" ſiaſt, a romance of very obſcure phyſics,
" If I perfectly underſtood it, I ſhould not
" have tranſlated it, on account of the ob-
" ſcenity of the poëtical fable, from which
" Julian, nevertheleſs, endeavours to deduce
" even ſome moralities.

" THE DISCOURSE entitled AGAINST IGNO-
" RANT CYNICS *, *contra imperitos canes*, is
" alſo an *impromptu* which he compoſed in
" two days, at his leiſure hours, indignant
" at the irreverence and audaciouſneſs of a
" diſſolute Cynic, who, not contented with
" leading a voluptuous life, ridiculed the
" ſingularities of Diogenes, and treated him
" as a coxcomb. Julian undertakes the apo-
" logy of the maſter, and exerts himſelf
" againſt the diſciple, with all the warmth
" of a man, who, in order to be a new Dio-
" genes, wanted only the wallet and ſtaff.
" I think that this piece, though inferior to
" thoſe which I have tranſlated, would not
" diſpleaſe in French.

" I will not ſay the ſame of THE DISCOURSE,
" which is addreſſed TO another Cynic, na-
" med HERACLIUS †. This philoſopher, ha-
" ranguing in the preſence of Julian, had de-

* *Orat.* VI. † *Orat.* VII.

" livered

" livered an allegorical fable, in which he " modeſtly took upon himſelf the part of " Jupiter, and gave the Emperor that of the " God Pan. Julian was ſtill more hurt by " the little reſpect with which the Cynic " mentioned the Gods. He was very near " impoſing ſilence on this profane declaimer. " But having then made an effort of patience, " as well from regard for the audience, as " for fear of being conſidered as he ſaid, as " a ſuſpicious man, who is ſcared at every " thing, he indemnifies himſelf by giving " ſcope to his zeal in a long diſcourſe; whoſe " object is to prove that a Cynic, an enemy, " by his profeſſion, to all diſſimulation and " diſguiſe, ought not to compoſe fables; or, " if he will compoſe them, that they ſhould " at leaſt be ſerious, inſtructive, religious. " This diſcourſe, which would be clearer, " if the fiction which ſhocked Julian were " known to us, contains ſome curious par- " ticulars relating to the origin and nature " of fable, on the ancient and modern " Cynics, &c. But what ſeems there moſt " worthy of attention is a fable by Julian, " which I ſhall preſently mention.

" Julian

" Julian was only Cæſar when he com-
" poſed the piece entitled, A CONSOLATORY
" DISCOURSE ON THE DEPARTURE OF SAL-
" LUST *. It is the ſame Salluſt whom
" Julian afterwards made Præfect of Gaul,
" and who muſt not be confounded with the
" Præfect of the Eaſt. Under Conſtantius
" he had a conſiderable employment in Gaul.
" His talents and fidelity having rendered
" him the intimate and confidential friend
" of the Cæſar, the jealouſy and intrigues of
" the court did not fail to diſplace and recall
" him. Julian, who was ſenſible of all the
" greatneſs of his loſs, endeavours, in this
" diſcourſe, to conſole himſelf, and to com-
" fort his friend, for ſuch a cruel ſeparation.
" He regrets not only the charms and de-
" lights of an union founded on the love of
" virtue and the public good, but alſo the
" aſſiſtance of another ſelf, who partook his
" engagements, his pains, and his pleaſures,
" of a true man, whoſe like he deſpairs to
" find, who loved him without intereſt, re-
" proved him without arrogance, and told

* *Orat.* VIII.

" him

" him the truth without diſguiſe. He " makes a very rare and moſt reſpectable " confeſſion, eſpecially in the mouth of a " prince; he ſays, in expreſs terms, that he " owes to Salluſt all his reputation. In this " work are ſentiment and principles; but " they are a little choaked by the quo- " tations and examples of antiquity. The " piece was compoſed to be publiſhed, though " the author was apprehenſive that it would " not. On that account he confines himſelf to " generals. It is plain, that, full of vexation, " and pierced with a grief which he conceals " in the bottom of his ſoul, he chooſes to " tell Salluſt any thing but what he tells " him. If he ſpeaks to him of Scipio, Lælius, " Cato, Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, Pe- " ricles, Anaxagoras, &c. it is becauſe he " dares not ſpeak of what intereſts him moſt. " Thoſe who cannot be ignorant are reduced " by ſervitude and conſtraint to pedantry: " witneſs moſt of the Greeks who wrote " under the Roman empire. Julian, as a " private man or the Cæſar, lived in a " moſt dreadful conſtraint. This perhaps " is one of the cauſes of that miſplaced

" erudition

" erudition which disfigures many of his " works *.

" He could, however, forego erudition " when he pleased, as we may be convinced " by reading his MANIFESTO against the Em- " peror Constantius †. This work has no- " thing pedantic, but the being addressed TO " THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, " whom Julian treats as he would have " done the Athenians in the time of Mil- " tiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. The " piece is written in a solid, noble, persuasive " manner, without declamation, without di- " gression, without a single quotation, even " from Homer, and gives occasion to presume " that the faults which are justly blamed " would not have been found in the other " works of Julian, if he had only exercised " his pen on happy subjects ‡.

" A long FRAGMENT § of instruction was " addressed by him, in quality of Sovereign " Pontiff, to a Pagan priest. It seems at if

* This Oration is omitted by M. de la Bleterie, but is translated in the following work.

† *Epist. ad S. P. Q. A.*

‡ I have also translated this Epistle. M. de la Bleterie has omitted it from " motives of delicacy," having interwoven almost the whole of it into his " Life of Julian."

§ FRAGMENTUM ORAT. AUT EPIST.

" Julian

" Julian there pretended to reduce Paganiſm
" into a ſyſtem; and that the inſtruction was
" divided into two parts, the firſt of which
" concerned, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the
" doctrine and the morals, and the ſecond
" contained the rules of diſcipline. It is, in
" general, a valuable and a very honourable
" teſtimony to our religion, as, on one ſide,
" the reformer of Helleniſm thinks nothing
" more proper to render it reſpectable than
" to borrow, if he could, from the Chriſtian
" church, her diſcipline and manners; and,
" on the other, he ſubſtitutes to revealed
" facts ſome extravagant fables. He rejects
" what Moſes informs us of the creation of
" Adam, in order gravely to utter a theurgic
" tradition, according to which, Jupiter,
" in arranging the univerſe, let fall ſome
" drops of blood, and of that ſacred liquor
" formed mankind. In truth, religion is
" well avenged of its enemies by the very
" abſurdities which they prefer to its tenets;
" *and ſending them ſtrong deluſion, they ſhall*
" *believe a lie.* Such a one, who ridicules
" the fable of Julian, if he does not believe
" our ſacred ſcriptures any more than Julian,
" admits, as to the origin of man, and a mul-

" titude

" titude of other points, ſome hypotheſes,
" which, by being inveſted with a meta-
" phyſical jargon, are not leſs irrational than
" his pretended tradition. In this ſame
" FRAGMENT the author avows that he
" would have rebuilt the temple of Jeru-
" ſalem; and we are ſenſible of all the im-
" portance of that avowal. The account of
" the rules which he preſcribes to his pontiffs
" is copied from the idea of what the church
" requires of her miniſters. On the ſubject
" of public entertainments, obſcene books,
" and romances, of that ſenſeleſs philoſophy
" which denies or calls in queſtion the ex-
" iſtence of God, his providence, and the
" immortality of the ſoul, he explains him-
" ſelf in ſo ſtrong and Chriſtian a manner,
" that nothing more would be wanting to
" ruin him in the opinion of ſome perſons,
" if the hatred which he expreſſes for the
" religion itſelf, of which he has preſerved
" thoſe remains, did not make him find fa-
" vour in their ſight. Nevertheleſs, how
" uſeful ſoever this FRAGMENT might be,
" my hand could not have a ſhare in copy-

" ing the blaſphemies which Julian there
" utters againſt our inſpired writers *.

" The BOOKS AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN
" RELIGION † which this prince compoſed
" during the long winter-nights, were an
" abſtract of what unbelievers oppoſed to
" Chriſtianity, and eſpecially of the objec-
" tions of Celſus, Hierocles, and Porphyry.
" Though the work was weak and immetho-
" dical, the delicacy and agreeableneſs of the
" ſtyle, as well as the purple of the author,
" gave it a great reputation. The Pagans pre-
" ferred it to every thing, and with their Ju-
" lian in their hands went forth to attack the
" Chriſtians. Superficial minds took, as uſual,
" witticiſms for reaſons, trite ſophiſtries for
" incontrovertible arguments, and the fre-
" quent quotations of ſcripture, with which
" the author paraded, as a proof that he was
" deeply verſed in ſacred literature, and that
" he had not ceaſed to believe it without
" knowledge of the cauſe. The Chriſtians,
" diſtracted by domeſtic controverſies, ne-
" glected to anſwer it; for infidelity is al-

* Omitting thoſe " blaſphemies," I have extracted the uſeful and inſtructive part of this Fragment, under the title of The Duties of a Prieſt.

† *S. Cyrilli contra Julian. libri* X.

" ways

" ways a gainer by our diſputes. They had
" a ſpecious pretext. Origen, Euſebius of
" Cæſarea, Methodius, and Apollinarius had
" anſwered it before. But the ſimple were
" ſcandaliſed; and not being able to diſcern
" of themſelves whether the ſilence of one
" of the parties concerned proceeded from
" weakneſs or contempt, were tempted to
" aſcribe the victory to him who was the
" laſt ſpeaker. About the year 400, Philip,
" of Side in Pamphylia, deacon of the
" church of Conſtantinople, under St. Chry-
" ſoſtom, endeavoured to avenge the honour
" of religion. The anſwer of Philip is loſt;
" and the opinion, which Socrates gives of
" another work by the ſame author, affords
" us no reaſon to regret it. At length, fifty
" or ſixty years after the death of Julian, St.
" Cyril of Alexandria, though very inferior
" to that prince in the art of writing, at-
" tacked the expiring refuge of Paganiſm,
" and deſtroyed it. This father has preſerved
" us a part of the work which he refuted.
" Theſe paſſages are leſs valuable to unbe-
" lievers than they perhaps imagine. They
" will find there ſome very mortifying con-

" feſſions *. Divines obſerve there ſome un-
" ſuſpected teſtimonies of the antiquity of
" ſome tenets †, of ſome cuſtoms and ex-
" preſſions. The refutation by St. Cyril,
" which he dedicated to the Emperor Theo-
" doſius the Younger, is learned, profound,
" deciſive againſt Julian and Paganiſm; but
" the peruſal of it would be more agreeable,
" if his pen were as elegant as that of Julian.
" Beſides, St. Cyril wrote for readers who
" were perſuaded that, if Paganiſm was falſe,
" Chriſtianity muſt neceſſarily be true. For
" this reaſon he applies himſelf leſs to anſwer
" directly the objections of Julian than to
" prove the weakneſs, or rather the nothing-
" neſs, of Paganiſm. This method, which
" was then ſufficient, would not be ſo well
" adapted to the neceſſities of our age, in
" which the ſame objections are unhappily
" too often repeated by men equally hoſtile
" to all religion. A direct refutation of
" theſe too famous books would be an em-

* *Cyrill. contr. Jul. l.* VI. 10.

† *Ibid. l.* X. Theſe paſſages are quoted in *La Vie de Julien, pp.* 244, 245.

" ployment

" ployment truly worthy of a philoſophical " divine *.

" It is uſeleſs here to mention ſome other " works, which have not reached us. I will " now give an account of thoſe which I " have tranſlated.

" THE CÆSARS † are deemed unqueſtion- " ably the maſter-piece of Julian. I expreſs " myſelf too freely, both as to his perſon " and his writings, to be charged with that " kind of idolatry which is too common in " tranſlators. I venture therefore to ſay, that " profane antiquity does not afford any piece " which is comparable to this for the merit " of the ſubject, and very few which ought " to be preferred to it for the merit of the " execution.

" A Roman Emperor, who has had the " advantage to be a private man, a mind " filled, and perhaps a heart penetrated, with " great maxims of government, a philoſo- " pher notwithſtanding all impediments, " born with much taſte and genius for rail- " lery, ready to ſeize the ridiculous, and never " letting it eſcape, in others, not even in

* Mr. Gibbon is pleaſed to call this " a ſtrange Centaur." Vol. II. p. 369.

† *Cæſares, ſive Convivium.*

" himſelf, knowing how to diſtinguiſh thoſe
" light clouds which conſtitute the difference
" between the middling and the good, the
" excellent and the perfect, between qualities
" which are eſtimable and thoſe which are
" only brilliant, nouriſhed with the reading
" of Plato and Ariſtotle, and ſpeaking their
" language like themſelves, aſſembles in one
" piece all the Emperors who reigned before
" him for the ſpace of about four hundred
" years.

" It is a moving picture, in which the
" ſpectator ſees rapidly paſſing before his
" eyes, but without confuſion, thoſe maſters
" of the world deſpoiled of their grandeur,
" and reduced to their vices and their virtues.
" By the aid of a ſimple and ingenious fiction,
" Julian makes thoſe who have diſhonoured
" the purple diſappear with ignominy; and
" among thoſe who deſerve to be placed
" in the number of ſovereigns he chooſes
" the moſt illuſtrious to make them contend
" for pre-eminence. Though he ſeems to
" leave the queſtion undetermined, it is ſuf-
" ficiently clear that Marcus Aurelius is the
" hero of the piece; that Julian gives him
" the preference, and means to announce to
" the

" the univerſe that he has taken that philo-
" ſophical Emperor for his model.

" Such is the general plan of the Satire,
" or rather of the Judgment, of THE CÆSARS.
" I do not think that in any work ſo ſhort
" are to be found at once ſo many characters
" and manners, ſo much refinement and ſo-
" lidity, ſo much inſtruction, without the
" author ever aſſuming a dogmatical tone,
" ſo much wit and pleaſantry, without his
" ever ceaſing to inſtruct. In a word, it
" ſeems to me that THE CÆSARS ought to
" undeceive, or at leaſt to embarraſs, thoſe
" who have voted an excluſive eſteem to the
" productions of ancient Greece.

" The work, however, is not exempt from
" faults. Not to mention ſome railleries
" that are either frigid, or ſeem ſo to us,
" nor a few groundleſs and too ſevere ſen-
" tences which Julian pronounces on certain
" Emperors, in whoſe memory no one at
" preſent is much intereſted, the no leſs un-
" juſt than indecent manner in which he
" treats his uncle, Conſtantine the Great, is
" inexcuſable. In ſpite of his inclination,
" not being able to avoid making him enter
" into competition with the moſt diſtin-

" guiſhed Emperors, he omits nothing that
" can ridicule and degrade him.

" This viſible partiality, produced by his
" hatred of our religion, and by other cauſes
" which I have taken care to develope in
" the remarks, can injure only Julian.
" Neither his envenomed ſtrokes, nor thoſe
" of Zoſimus, will prevent Conſtantine
" from being regarded as a prince of ſupe-
" rior merit, and highly worthy of the title
" of Great; any more than the extravagant
" elogiums of the Greeks, who give him the
" title of " equal to the apoſtles," will
" ever perſuade us that all his actions were
" conformable to the ſanctity of the goſpel,
" of which he declared himſelf the pro-
" tector. Without diſſembling either his
" faults or failings, I have detected the ca-
" lumnies by which a paſſionate enemy en-
" deavours to blacken him; and I have
" done it ſolely for the intereſt of the truth
" of hiſtory; for I am far from thinking,
" with this unjuſt cenſor, that the blows
" aimed at Conſtantine can fall upon re-
" ligion. If he has the glory to be the in-
" ſtrument which God employed to reſcue
" it from oppreſſion, he is not, after all,

" either

" either its founder or apoſtle. Without the
" Emperors, and in ſpite of their efforts,
" when Conſtantine embraced it, it had ſo
" much prevailed, that he has been ſuſpected,
" though falſely, of having embraced it from
" policy. When we have the happineſs to
" profeſs a religion ſo auguſt, ſo divine,
" fixed on immoveable foundations, there
" would be puſillanimity, not to ſay cow-
" ardice, in thinking it dependent on, or
" reponſible for, the reputation of its firſt
" protectors. God, the ſupreme diſpoſer of all
" events, and *who calls things that are not*
" *as though they were*, could, and yet he did
" not, have made Theodoſius have reigned
" before Conſtantine, and have placed St.
" Lewis at the head of our Chriſtian kings.

" I muſt obſerve, that in THE CÆSARS
" is a ſort of contradiction. The author
" there ſuppoſes the Gods ſuch as the poets
" repreſent them, yet he often recurs to the
" ideas of the philoſophers. This is not
" a fault peculiar to him. It cannot be in-
" ferred from hence that he meant to ridi-
" cule religion, nor that he was a free-
" thinker. He conſidered the fables of the
" poets as fictions, which being taken lite-

" rally would have diſhonoured the Deity ;
" but perſuaded that they muſt be turned
" into allegories, being a deiſt in ſpeculation
" to a certain point, but a zealous pagan in
" practice, he conformed to the eſtabliſhed
" language. This mixture of poetical and
" philoſophical Paganiſm was not unuſual.
" No one was hurt by it. We are juſtly
" ſhocked at it, and ſhould be much more
" ſo, if reading the ancients had not fa-
" miliariſed us to ſuch abſurdities.

" It is more than ſixty years * ſince M.
" Spanheim, ſo well known in the republic
" of letters, undertook to tranſlate THE
" CÆSARS into French. This learned fo-
" reigner was unacquainted with the refine-
" ments of our language ; and his verſion
" no more reſembles the original than a
" ſkeleton does a human body †. To the
" text he has added ſome remarks, has ſup-
" ported his remarks by proofs, and en-
" riched them both with medals ; the whole
" with ſo much profuſion, that the ſmall

* In 1683.

† In like manner, Mr. Gibbon ſtyles this French verſion " coarſe, languid, and correct." " The Abbé de la " Bleterie," he adds, " has more happily expreſſed the " ſpirit, as well as ſenſe, of the original, which he has illuſ- " trated with ſome conciſe and curious notes."

" work

" work of Julian is in a manner loſt in a " quarto of above ſix hundred pages. It is " a maſter-piece of typography, a treaſure " of ancient literature ill-digeſted, and of " numiſmatic erudition. This book is or- " namental to libraries, but it alarms the " generality of readers, whom the ſight of " ſo prolix a commentary inſpires at leaſt " with indifference for a text which, they " ſuppoſe, requires ſo many illuſtrations. " Every one is not obliged to know that " commentators do not labour merely to " give the meaning of their author; that " they often chooſe him only for an oppor- " tunity of emptying their common-place- " books, and that they are generally as dif- " fuſe on the moſt eaſy paſſages as they are " ſuccinct, or even ſilent, on real difficulties.

" THE MISOPOGON * is a ſatire leſs diver- " ſified, but more ſingular, than THE CÆSARS. " Julian, driven to extremities by the inha- " bitants of Antioch, inſtead of avenging " himſelf, or of pardoning them, like a " prince, undertakes to avenge himſelf like " an author; and no author, I fancy, ever " conceived ſuch a project of revenge. He

* *Miſopogon, ſive Antiochus.*

" pretends

" pretends to turn his ill-humour againſt him-
" ſelf; he exaggerates his own imperfections,
" and repreſenting the good qualities that he
" may have as extravagances, he oppoſes them
" to the vices of Antioch, which he ironically
" exhibits as virtues.

" Julian draws himſelf more extraordi-
" nary than he really is, but he muſt have
" been very extraordinary to draw himſelf
" in ſuch a manner. If the work be defi-
" cient in dignity, it abounds with ſtrokes,
" ſallies, principles, and manners. Genius
" ſparkles throughout the whole; but the
" pleaſantry is too cauſtic and bitter. It is
" the laugh of a man in a paſſion, who acts
" the part of a philoſopher, and cannot ſup-
" port it to the end. He leaves at laſt the
" ironical tone, to aſſume that of invective
" and direct reproach. I think I may
" affirm that this ſatire flowed from the pen
" of Julian in a fit of chagrin and anger,
" and that he employed no more time in
" compoſing it than was neceſſary to write
" it. But ſuch as it is, it is an *unique*, and
" without having read it we cannot be ſuf-
" ficiently acquainted with Julian.

" A FABLE,

" A FABLE *, which I have taken from " the diſcourſe to the Cynic Heraclius, will " I doubt not be read with pleaſure. Julian, " in order to give him the model of an " inſtructive and religious fable, deſcribes, " in an allegorical fiction, but which it is " impoſſible to miſtake, the misfortunes of " his family, the dangers which he incurred " in his childhood, his ſyſtem in religion " and government. Though it is in proſe, " it is an excellent piece of poetry.

" The letters of celebrated men are ge- " nerally the moſt curious parts of their " writings. Many of the EPISTLES † of " Julian diſplay his mind, his genius, his " ideas on goverment and religion; others " throw light on hiſtory, ſacred and profane; " and there are ſome billets which prove " that he was very capable of ſucceeding in " the laconic ſtyle. Among his Epiſtles are " ſome of his laws. Two or three more I " have taken from the Theodoſian Code. " No Emperor made ſo many laws in ſo " ſhort a reign: excepting thoſe which re-

* *Ex Orat.* VII.

† *Epiſtolæ.* Of the LXXI. Epiſtles, thoſe to Themiſtius, Conſtantius, and the Athenians, included; M. de la Bleterie has tranſlated only XLVII.

" gard

" gard Chriſtianity, his are eſteemed by the " lawyers; but unfortunately the Codes of " Theodoſius and Juſtinian ſcarce ever give " more than the enacting part of the law, " and not the preamble, in which the genius " and eloquence of the legiſlator were diſ- " played.

" I have inſerted in its place the EPISTLE " TO THEMISTIUS *, which the editions " place at the end of the Orations. It is in " fact a treatiſe in the form of an Epiſtle, in " which the author, ſeeing the rocks that " ſurround the throne, expreſſes his anxieties " and apprehenſions, lays down excellent " maxims concerning the duties of a ſove- " reign, and acknowleges his incapacity with " a modeſty highly laudable, if it be ſincere. " We perceive in this work a ſtrain of de- " clamation, and ſomewhat rather vague. " It were to be wiſhed that the author had " applied a little more the principles which " he draws from Ariſtotle and Plato. But " it ſhould be conſidered that Julian, when " he compoſed this treatiſe, had juſt been " declared Cæſar by Conſtantius, and that " this new dignity had only increaſed his

* *Epiſtola ad Themiſtium.*

" ſlavery.

" ſlavery. The piece is free enough for the
" time when it was written. Julian ven-
" tures to ſpeak there as if he were inde-
" pendent, or at leaſt as if he would one day
" be ſo."

With a well-grounded confidence the learn-ed writer adds, " Though the public is
" prejudiced againſt notes, and regards them
" as ſuperfluities which only ſerve to en-
" large the volumes, I venture, however, to
" intreat them to caſt their eyes on mine.
" They are extremely laboured, and, I pre-
" ſume, nothing will be found in them uſe-
" leſs or trifling. I have entered into gram-
" matical diſcuſſions only when I thought
" them important, and to ſhew that I could
" tire the reader by that kind of erudition
" as well as others. If ſome ſhould think
" that I ſtop too often to parry the weak
" thruſts that Julian makes at Chriſtianity,
" I will own, that, writing in a Chriſtian
" nation, I am aſhamed to be obliged to re-
" fute what deſerves only contempt. But as
" for thoſe who ſhall think theſe precautions
" exceſſive, I beg them to examine whether
" they do not contribute to make them ne-

" ceſſary. *I am become a fool in glorying; ye* " *have compelled me* *."

The comment indeed of this learned foreigner is frequently ſuperior to the text; and the whole is ſuch a fund of critical, hiſtorical, and Chriſtian knowledge, that it cannot but be acceptable to an Engliſh reader. I muſt add, that I am alſo much indebted to the elegant (I am ſorry I cannot ſay, unexceptionable) *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire*, as will appear by the frequent quotations from that work in the notes. The Epiſtles of Libanius to Julian, which are alſo inſerted, and two Monodies on ſubjects mentioned in theſe works, will give ſome idea of the ſtyle of that ſophiſt.

Beſides the *Hiſtory of Jovian*, an abſtract of an Eſſay, by the Abbé de la Bleterie, " on " the rank and power of the Roman Em- " perors in the Senate," which has not, to my knowledge, appeared in Engliſh, is annexed.

Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, 1783. J. DUNCOMBE.

The following ſhort Annals and Pedigree of Julian may ſerve to illuſtrate the hiſtorical events occaſionally mentioned in his writings.

* *Preface à l'Hiſtoire de Jovien*, p. x.—lxiii.

AN-

ANNALS OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE of JULIAN.

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIAN was born at Conſtantinople. His mother, Baſilina, died a few months after. A. D. 331. Nov. 6.

His father, Julius Conſtantius, and moſt of his relations, were maſſacred by order of the Emperor Conſtantius. His half-brother, Gallus, is baniſhed into Ionia; and he is ſent to Nicomedia, where he is educated a Chriſtian by the biſhop Euſebius, and officiates as a lecturer in the church. He is put under the tuition of Mardonius, an eunuch. 337.

He is taken from ſchool, and confined ſix years with Gallus in a caſtle in Cappadocia. 345.

Gallus is created Cæſar, and goes to reſide at Antioch. 351. Mar. 5.

Julian

A. D. 351. Julian visits Edesius at Pergamus, and is perverted to Paganism by Maximus, who initiates him at Ephesus.

He is sent to complete his education at Constantinople under Ecebolus and Nicocles.

354. Dec. Gallus is deprived of the purple, and put to death in Dalmatia. Julian is conveyed to the court of Milan.

355. May. He is sent to study at Athens, where he is initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.

Oct. He is recalled to Milan.

Nov. 6. He is declared Cæsar, and soon after marries his cousin Helena, sister to Constantius. Writes his 1st panegyrical oration on Constantius.

Dec. 1. Sets out for Gaul with 350 soldiers. Winters at Vienne, and there probably composes his Epistle to Themistius.

356 Jan. 1. Enters on his 1st consulship with Constantius (the VIIIth). Writes his 11d panegyric on that prince.

June 24. Arrives at Autun. Twice defeats the Alemanni, and retakes Cologne.

Winters at Sens, where he repulses an attack of the enemy.

357 Jan. 1. Enters on his 11d consulship, with Constantius (the IXth.)

Defeats

Defeats the Alemanni at Straſburgh, takes their king, Cnodomar, priſoner, &c. A. D. 357. Aug.

Paſſes the Rhine at Mentz.

Subdues the Franks. Winters at Paris. Dec.

Defeats the Salians and Chamavians. Paſſes the Rhine again. Two kings of the Alemanni ſurrender and ſue for peace. Winters at Paris. Writes his conſolatory oration on the departure of Salluſt. 358. July.

Paſſes the Rhine a third time, ſurpriſes ſix kings, who diſputed his paſſage, and reſcues 20,000 priſoners. Reſtores the ruined cities of Gaul. 359.

Winters again at Paris. Sends Lupicinus to Britain, to repulſe the Scots and Picts.

Enters on his IIId conſulſhip with Conſtantius (the Xth.) 360. Jan. 1.

The flower of the Gallic army being ordered by Conſtantius to march into the Eaſt, they mutiny at Paris, and proclaim Julian Emperor. April.

He paſſes the Rhine a fourth time (at Bonn) and ſubdues the Attuarii. Declares himſelf a Pagan. July.

Winters at Vienne, where he celebrates his fifth anniverſary, Nov. 6, 361. Loſes his wife. Oct.

Paſſes the Rhine a fifth time, and again defeats and reduces the Alemanni.

A. D. 361. Marches againſt Conſtantius, and ſeizes the paſs of Succi.

Writes from Sirmium and Naiſſus to Athens, and the other cities of Greece.

Nov. 3. † Conſtantius died at Mopſocrene in Cilicia, aged 45.

Dec. 11. Julian enters Conſtantinople, and reſtores the Pagan worſhip. Winters there, and writes the Cæſars.

362. May 15. Leaves Conſtantinople. In his way, viſits the temple of Cybele at Peſſinus in Phrygia, where he writes his vth oration.

June. Arrives at Antioch, where he winters.

Dec. Compoſes his books againſt the Chriſtian religion.

363. Jan. 1. Enters on his ivth and laſt conſulſhip, with Salluſt, præfect of Gaul. Attempts in vain to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem.

Feb. Writes the Miſopogon.

March 13. Leaves Antioch, and marches againſt the Perſians, joining his army at Hierapolis, where he paſſes the Euphrates.

April 7. Paſſes the Chaboras, and enters the Perſian territories.

Beſieges and takes by aſſault Periſabor and Maogamalcha in Aſſyria.

† Ammianus ſays, Oct. 3. But Idatius, Socrates, Cedrenus, the Alex. Chronicle, and others, ſay as above.

Tranſports

Transports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris. A. D. 363.

Forces the passage of the Tigris, but, unable to reduce Ctesiphon, and deceived by a Persian deserter, burns his fleet and magazines, and advances into the inland country, where he is severely distressed by famine. June.

Retreats towards the Tigris. 16.

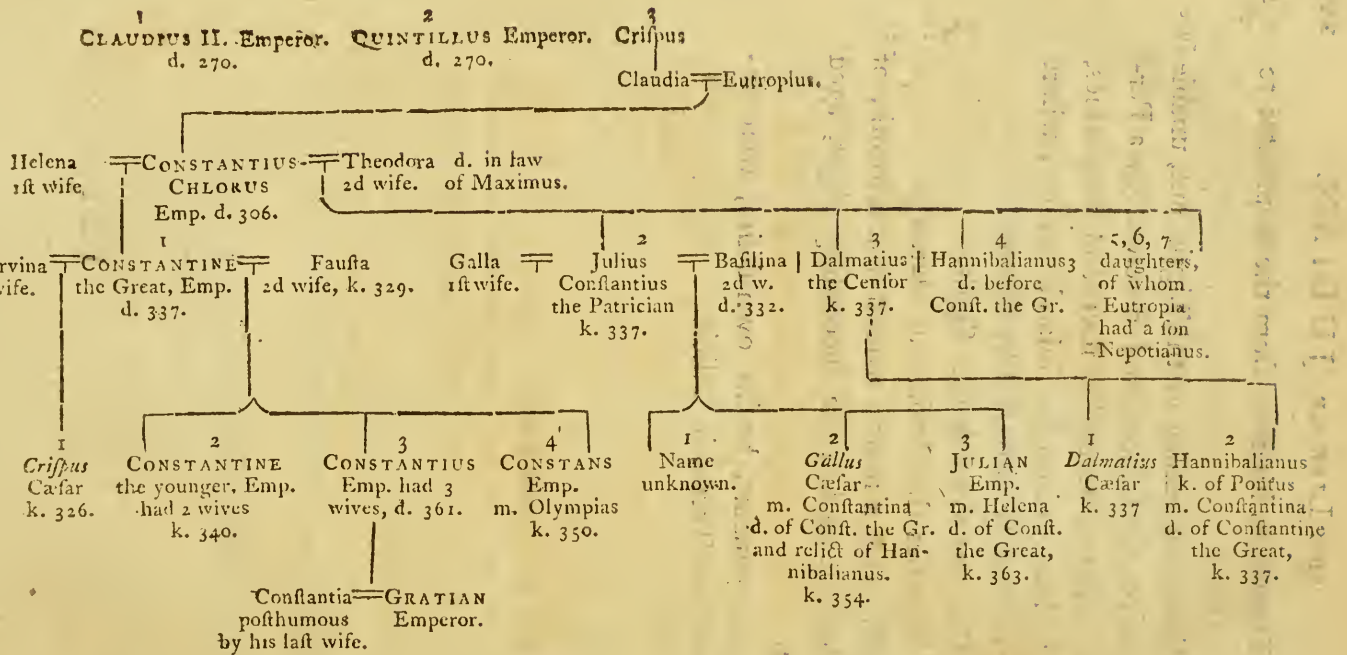
Repulses the Persians at Maronga. 22.

Receives a mortal wound in a skirmish, of which he died in the succeeding night, aged 32. 26.

His remains, by his own desire, were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia.

PEDIGREE

PEDIGREE OF JULIAN.



Of the fourteen princes deſcended from Conſtantius-Chlorus, five only died a natural death; and with Julian the male line of the Flavian or Conſtantine family ended.

SELECT WORKS

OF THE

EMPEROR JULIAN.

*** The inauſpicious name of JULIAN is ſtamped on the memory of all ages, not more by the extent of his dominions than by the infamy of his deſerting the Chriſtian religion: that great and eternal blot, that ſingle ſtain, which has totally ſullied all his other graces and accompliſhments; adorned, as he was, with every endowment of nature, genius, learning, and eloquence, ſurrounded by a noble train of attendant virtues, temperance, continence, liberality, moderation in his mode of life, and diſtinguiſhed alſo by the renown of valour and ſucceſs in war. But as it was by no means my intention, I will not ſay to eraſe or remove (for what Chriſtian would attempt that?), but in the leaſt to diſguiſe or extenuate, the blemiſh that his name has thus contracted, by paying ſome reſpect to his other virtues; ſo that elogium of uncommon erudition and elegance which his lucubrations in various branches of literature have received from ſo many paſt ages, ſhould not, I thought, on that account be with-held from them.

SPANHEIM, *in Dedic.*

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SELECT WORKS OF JULIAN.

GALLUS * CÆSAR TO HIS BROTHER JULIAN HEALTH †.

THE neighbourhood of Ionia has afforded me great joy, having diſpelled the concern and indignation that I felt at a former report. What that was I will inform you. I heard that you A. D. 351 or 352.

* Gallus was the elder brother of Julian, by a different mother, and having with him been ſecreted from the murderers of their relations in 337, they were baniſhed by the Emperor Conſtantius into Ionia, from whence, in 345, they were conveyed to the caſtle of Macellum in Cappadocia. There they were not only educated Chriſtians, but officiated as lecturers in the church of Nicomedia. Six years after, viz. on March 5, 351, Gallus was declared Cæſar by Conſtantius, and married to his ſiſter Conſtantina. He then went to Antioch, to preſide, with a delegated authority, over the three great dioceſes of the Eaſtern Præfecture, and from that city this Epiſtle was probably

you had departed from your former religion tranſmitted to you by your anceſtor ‡, and, hurried away by mad and wicked advice, had embraced a vain ſuperſtition. How did I grieve at this information! For as I conſider your good actions, whenever they are celebrated, as advantageous to myſelf, ſo I eſteem your bad deeds (which Heaven avert!) as much or more detrimental. But the anxiety which this intelligence gave me, has been removed by the arrival of our father Ætius *, as he

probably written, Julian being then in Ionia, whither Gallus had diſpatched Ætius to ſtrengthen him in the Chriſtian Faith. Conſtantius, in the mean time, was marching towards the Weſt. The ſubſequent imprudence of Gallus, and his fatal cataſtrophe in 354, are related by Julian in his Epiſtle to the Athenians.

† The learned F. Petau ſuppoſes this Epiſtle to be ſpurious, without aſſigning a reaſon. Meſſrs de Tillemont and Spanheim think it genuine. In fact, we find nothing in it which does not agree with what we know from other hands. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Gallus had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ſecret apoſtacy of Julian, and, in a letter to him, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; an argument, which, as it ſhould ſeem, was not yet perfectly ripe. GIBBON.

The grandfather of Gallus and Julian, Conſtantius Chlorus, the father of Conſtantine the Great and Julius Conſtantius, had been very favourable to the Chriſtians, and perhaps was a Chriſtian in his heart. Nothing more is neceſſary to authoriſe, in ſome degree, the expreſſion uſed by Gallus, his grandſon. LA BLETERIE.

This conſtruction, it muſt be owned, is rather forced.

* Ætius, a Syrian by birth, a braſier, a goldſmith, an empiric, having ſtudied the categories of Ariſtotle, ſet up for a divine. He carried the principles of Arianiſm as far as

he assures me, on the contrary, to my great joy, that you are zealously employed in houses of prayer †, and can hardly be removed from the tombs of the martyrs, but are totally attached to our worship. I must apply to you that expression of Homer: "Be this your aim ‡." Continue thus

as they would go; and, reviving the blasphemies of Arius, he plainly taught that the Word was only a creature. This occasioned his being styled *The Atheist*, not only by the Catholics, but even by the moderate Arians. Leontius, bishop of Antioch, did not scruple to ordain him a deacon; and Gallus took him for his oracle in divinity. Ætius was the dupe of Julian, who carried his dissimulation so far as to embrace a monastic life. Libanius speaks of this hypocrisy as if it were an innocent stratagem. "Though "Julian," says he, "had changed his religion, he still "professed the same, not being allowed to discover his "real sentiments. This was the reverse of the fable of "Æsop. The lion borrowed the skin of a vile animal. "Julian knew the better part, but he acted outwardly the "safest." *Liban. Orat. Parent.* We see that the panegyrist was no more scrupulous than the hero on the article of sincerity, even in the affair of religion. *Ibid.*

The death of Gallus was followed by the exile of Ætius. But he was recalled by Julian. See an Epistle from him to that prelate (as he was afterwards) the XXXIst.

† Σπεδαζειν σε εφη εις οικες ευχων. In the Latin translation it is, *Te in domibus studiosè versari.* "That you are "studiously employed in houses;" which, by omitting *precum* (ευχων) conveys no meaning.

‡ Βαλλ' ητως, *Sic jaculare.* Iliad. VIII. 282.

Thus, always thus, thy early worth be try'd. *Pope*, 340.

These are the words of Agamemnon to Teucer, who was shooting his arrows with success against the Trojans. It should be remarked that the Greeks, and those who spoke Greek, whether Pagans or Christians, quoted Homer on every occasion, and made continual allusions to some passages of this poet. The Pagans, and Julian in particular, had the same respect for Homer that we have for the canonical books. LA BLETERIE.

to delight all who love you, remembering that nothing is preferable to religion. For the perfection of virtue inſtructs us to deteſt the fallacy of falſehood, and to adhere to truth; which is principally apparent in piety towards God. But a plurality of Gods is productive of endleſs diſſenſions and uncertainty. One only Deity by his ſole power governs the univerſe *, not, like the ſons of Saturn, by lot and partition, but becauſe he is ſelf-created and has almighty power, not acquired by force, but exiſting before all things. This is the true God, and to him all worſhip is due. Farewell.

Julian Cæsar to the Philosopher Themistius †.

A. D. 355 or 356. I Earneſtly wiſh to realiſe the expectations, which, you ſay, you have formed of me. But in this I fear I ſhall fail, as you promiſe much more for me than you ought to others, and eſpecially to yourſelf.

* We read in the text, Το δε μονον συν ενι υπεργον εν βασιλευει τω παντος, which gives no meaning. I think that we ſhould read συν ενι υπεργω. Gallus will then ſpeak like an Arian, like a faithful diſciple of Ætius. The Chriſtianity both of Julian and Gallus was in all appearance only Arianiſm.

La Bleterie.

† This philoſophical Epiſtle "on the dangers of ſovereign power" was written ſoon after Conſtantius had raiſed Julian to the dignity of Cæſar. It muſt not be forgotten that this was not only a deſignation to the empire, but alſo an actual

ſelf. For long ago, on my ſuppoſing a competition between myſelf with Alexander and Marcus [Aurelius], I was wonderfully fearful and apprehenſive of falling far ſhort of the fortitude of the firſt, and of not making the leaſt approach to the perfect virtue of the other. On theſe conſiderations, an idle life ſeemed to me moſt deſirable; and recollecting with pleaſure the Attic fables, I wiſhed to ſing them to my friends, as porters in the ſtreets thus alleviate the weight of their bur-

actual aſſociation in a conſiderable part of the imperial power. The Greeks gave the Cæſar the title of βασιλευς δευτερος, or even, as they did the Emperor, ſimply that of βασιλευς. I ſhall preſently mention why I cannot adopt the conjecture of F. Petau, who imagines that Julian compoſed this treatiſe when the death of Conſtantius had made him maſter of the empire. And I ſhall examine, in the ſequel, whether the Themiſtius, to whom Julian writes, be the ſame whoſe works we have. LA BLETERIE.

Philoſophy had inſtructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps ſincerely have preferred the groves of the Academy, and the ſociety of Athens; but he was conſtrained at firſt by the will, and afterwards by the juſtice, of Conſtantius, to expoſe his perſon and fame to the dangers of Imperial greatneſs; and to make himſelf accountable to the world, and to poſterity, for the happineſs of millions.

Julian himſelf has expreſſed theſe philoſophical ideas with much eloquence, and ſome affectation, in a very elaborate Epiſtle to Themiſtius. The Abbé de la Bleterie, who has given an elegant tranſlation, is inclined to believe, that it was the celebrated Themiſtius whoſe Orations are ſtill extant. GIBBON.

Petau ſtyles this, "not an Oration, but an Epiſtle;" but "becauſe it is longer than an epiſtle," he places it among the Orations.

thens. But you, by your late epiſtle, have augmented my fears, and have propoſed to me a much more arduous contention, by ſaying, that God has placed me in the ſame ſituation that Hercules and Bacchus were placed of old, who at the ſame time philoſophiſed and reigned, and freed almoſt the whole earth and ſea from the vices with which they were overwhelmed. You alſo adviſe me, baniſhing the thoughts of ſloth and idleneſs, to conſider how I ſhall act with propriety in this ſuppoſed contention. You then mention all the legiſlators, Solon *, Pittacus †, Lycurgus ‡; and you add, that the world may reaſonably form greater expectations of me than it did of them.

On reading this paſſage I was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, knowing that you think it by no means allowable to flatter or falſify; and as to myſelf, being conſcious of no ſuperior talents, either natural or acquired, except my love of philoſophy. Of the calamities, which have hitherto rendered this love imperfect, I ſay nothing. I knew not therefore what conſtruction to put on theſe expreſſions, till this was ſuggeſted to me by Heaven; that you meant by thus praiſing to exhort me, and to diſplay the magnitude of thoſe trials to which every ruler muſt neceſſarily be expoſed.

* One of the wiſe men of Greece, the lawgiver of Athens. See Plutarch and Diogenes Laërtius.

† Another of the wiſe men, contemporary with Crœſus, a philoſopher of Mitylene. Some of his precepts are preſerved in Auſonius *de Sapientia*.

‡ The lawgiver of Sparta. See Juſtin and Plutarch.

But

But this is rather a diſcouragement than a recommendation of ſuch a ſtate.

Suppoſe that a man navigating your ſtrait *, and that not with eaſe or expedition, ſhould be told by one skilled in divination, that he ſhould traverſe the Ægean, and afterwards the Ionian ſea, and at laſt the main ocean. "Here," the prophet ſhould ſay, "you ſee towns and harbours, but "there you ſhall diſcern neither watch-tower, nor "rock, happy if you diſcover ſome ſhip at a diſtance, "and can hail the crew. You ſhall often pray to "God for a ſafe return to land, even were your "life immediately to end; ſatisfied, if after having "reached the haven, and reſtored your ſhip to the "owners, and the mariners to their families, you "might commit your body to your native earth †." This might happen, but that it would muſt till the laſt moment remain uncertain. Do you think, that, after having heard this, ſuch a man would even chooſe to dwell in a ſea-port town? or rather, bidding adieu to riches and the profits attendant on commerce, to his domeſtic connections, to foreign friendſhips, and to the ſurvey of diſtant cities and coun-

* It is difficult to conjecture what ſtrait he means. I ſuſpect it, however, to be the Boſphorus, and that Themiſtius was then at Conſtantinople. PETAU.

If I were ſure that this Epiſtle was addreſſed to the celebrated Themiſtius, I ſhould affirm, that this ſtrait was that of Conſtantinople. LA BLETERIE.

† The ancients thought drowning the moſt diſhonourable of deaths. Hence thoſe paſſionate exclamations, under ſuch an apprehenſion of Achilles in the Iliad, and Æneas in the Æneid.

tries, would he not think the advice of the ſon of Neocles *, "Live privately," the wiſeſt that could be given?

Of this you ſeem ſo apprehenſive, that you endeavour, by reproaching Epicurus, to prejudice me againſt him, and to eradicate that opinion. Theſe are your words; "that he, a man of no buſineſs, "ſhould praiſe idleneſs, and thoſe Peripatetic "diſputations, might well be expected." But that Epicurus was in this miſtaken, I have been long and am firmly perſuaded. Whether indeed it is proper to urge any one to public adminiſtration, who is naturally unqualified and of mean abilities, may deſerve farther enquiry. For even Socrates is ſaid to have withdrawn many from the forum who ſeemed not calculated for it; and he endeavoured, in particular, as Xenophon relates, to diſſuade Glaucon, and the ſon of Clinias †, but could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of that youth.

Shall we then compell thoſe who are conſcious of their own deficiencies, and urge them to be confident in ſuch undertakings as depend not ſo much on virtue and a right diſpoſition, as on fortune, who governs all things, and often forces us to follow her direction? Chryſippus ‡ in other things ſeemed

* Epicurus.

† Alcibiades.

‡ Chryſippus is ſtyled by Cicero "the moſt ſubtle inter-"preter of the Stoic dreams, and the ſupport of the Por-"tico." His chief ſtudy was logic, which he carried to a trifling degree of ſubtlety. Of his works, which filled 705 volumes,

ſeemed wiſe, and was juſtly ſo eſteemed; but his ignorance of fortune and chance, and other like cauſes, which happen independently of our actions, is not eaſily reconcileable with what time has evidently taught us by many examples. For in what particular ſhall we ſtyle Cato *, or Dion Siculus †, happy? Perhaps for their diſregard of death, but certainly not for their leaving the works in which they at firſt engaged imperfect, works to which they had diligently attended, and for which they would willingly have ſuffered the ſevereſt calamities. When diſappointed, they behaved, it is ſaid, with moderation, not repining at fortune, and derived no ſmall conſolation from virtue; but they could by no means be ſtyled happy, having failed in their greateſt undertakings, unleſs in the ſenſe of the Stoics. To which it may be anſwered, that to be praiſed and to be happy are not the ſame thing; and if all creatures naturally deſire

volumes, ſome titles only remain. He died about 200 years before the Chriſtian æra, and was honoured by the Athenians with a ſtatue in the Ceramicus. His death is ſaid to have been occaſioned by an immoderate fit of laughter at ſeeing an aſs eat figs. Chryſippus deſired the aſs might have a glaſs of wine to waſh them down, and was ſo diverted with his own conceit, that it coſt him his life. He is ſaid to have been a very copious and learned writer, but obſcure and immoral; though one would be inclined to think, from the reſpect with which he is mentioned by Epictetus, that this latter accuſation is groundleſs.

Mrs. CARTER.

* Of Utica.

† A nobleman of Syracuſe, attached to Plato, by whoſe counſel he freed his country from the tyranny of Dionyſius. He was afterwards aſſaſſinated by one of his friends.

happineſs,

happineſs, it is better for us to be declared happy than to be praiſed for virtue. Subſtantial happineſs by no means depends on fortune. Thoſe who are engaged in government cannot indeed breathe, as the ſaying is, without her * * * † as if philoſophy could form a general, and place him above the reach of chance, like the pure, incorporeal, and intelligent world of ideas, whether they are produced in reality, or formed falſly. He indeed who is, according to Diogenes,

Of city, country, houſe depriv'd,

has nothing more to loſe. But how can one whom cuſtom has called forth, and as Homer, the firſt of writers, ſays,

—— Who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war, preſides ‡,

conſiſtently place himſelf out of the reach of fortune? And if he be really ſubject to it, with what conſideration and prudence muſt he act, ſo as

† Before this paſſage we have placed aſtericks, as ſomething here is wanting. But in our MSS a fragment was inſerted of another epiſtle, which, if I miſtake not, Julian wrote to Arſacius, a High Prieſt, in which he gave ſome directions relating to religion and the worſhip of the gods. This we have extracted, and publiſhed ſeparately, in another place; but what follows ſeems addreſſed to Themiſtius. PETAU.

The above-mentioned Fragment of an oration, or epiſtle, (ſo ſtyled) is characteriſed in the preface, and that unobjectible part of it, which contains "The Duties of a "Prieſt," is detached and inſerted, under that title, among theſe "Select Works."

‡ Iliad, II. 25. Pope, 27.

to

to ſuſtain with equanimity, like a ſage pilot, the ſtorms that aſſail him on every ſide?

If admiration be due to thoſe who withſtand her attacks with fortitude, much more is it deſerved by thoſe who receive her favours with moderation. By them the greateſt of kings, the conqueror of Aſia, was ſubdued, as in cruelty and inſolence he far ſurpaſſed Darius and Xerxes, after he had conquered their dominions. By theſe weapons the Perſians, Macedonians, Athenians, Syracuſans, the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates, the Roman generals, and, laſtly, many emperors, were attacked and totally deſtroyed. It would be endleſs to enumerate all who have fallen a prey to wealth, ſucceſs, and luxury. And why ſhould I mention thoſe, who, overwhelmed by misfortunes, from freemen have become ſlaves, from noble mean, and from ſplendid abject? Would to Heaven, that human life afforded no ſuch inſtances! But ſuch there have been, and ſuch there always will be, as long as the world exiſts.

But that I may not ſeem ſingular in thinking that Fortune has the chief ſway in human affairs, I refer you, intelligent as you are and my inſtructor, to Plato, in his admirable book on Laws; and to convince you that I have not weakly imbibed this idea, I will tranſcribe the paſſage*: "God, and, with

"God,

* All this paſſage is taken from the fourth book of Plato *de Legibus*, which, in ſome places, we have corrected from Plato

" God, Fortune, or Opportunity, govern all things " human, but a third muſt be annexed; Art muſt " attend them, as an aſſociate." He then proceeds to ſhew, that every king, every ſovereign artificer of great actions, ſhould be a kind of King-God. " Saturn," he ſays, " knowing (as we have " before obſerved) that human nature is not of it- " ſelf capable of governing mankind with ſupreme " power and abſolute authority, without giving " way to inſolence and injuſtice, then * placed at " the head of our ſtates, as kings and magiſtrates, " not men, but genii of a divine and more ex- " cellent nature; as we act with regard to our " flocks and herds. For we never make an ox " the ſuper-intendant of oxen, nor a goat of " goats; but they are governed by us, a ſupe- " rior race. In like manner †, the God, being " a lover of mankind, has ſet over us a race of " ſuperior beings, who, with great eaſe both to " themſelves and us, undertake the care of us, " and, diſpenſing peace, innocence ‡, and juſtice,

Plato himſelf. Others, which Julian ſeems to have expreſſed differently, we have remarked in the margin.

PETAU.

Petavius obſerves, that " this paſſage is taken from the " fourth book *de Legibus*;" but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a ſimilar reflection. GIBBON.

The variations, which are ſpecified in the notes, are few and immaterial, being chiefly verbal.

* The word τοτε (" then") is not in Plato.

† Αρα, a kind of expletive, occurs here in Plato.

‡ Και ελευθεριαν και αφθον (" and freedom and plenty"), is added in Plato.

" preſerve

" preſerve mankind in tranquillity and happineſs. " And this is agreeable to truth and reaſon; for " thoſe ſtates * which are governed, not by a God " but by ſome mortal, have no ceſſation from evils " and oppreſſions. We ſhould therefore exert our " utmoſt efforts to imitate the life that was led in " the reign of Saturn, and, with as much immor- " tality as we have remaining, to govern, by his " directions, both in public and private, our fami- " lies and our ſtates, conſidering † the law as the " application of the divine mind. But whether " one man, or a few, or a number of people ‡, " govern any ſtate, if their minds are enſlaved by " pleaſure, and through a deſire § of indulging it " they trample on the laws, there is no chance " of ſafety."

I have tranſcribed this whole paſſage of Plato on purpoſe to prevent your ſurmiſing, that I quote the words of the ancients fraudulently or erroneouſly, and without regard to the connection. But what ſays this paſſage really on the ſubject? You ſee, that, though a prince be by nature human, he ſhould, in his conduct, be a divine and ſuperior being, and entirely baniſh from his

* There is alſo a ſmall difference here; οσων πολεων and αρχη in Julian, ως οσον αν πολεων and αρχει in Plato.

† Ονομαζοντας in Julian, επονομαζοντας in Plato.

‡ In other words, and nearer to the original, " a mo- " narchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy."

§ There follows in Plato ςεγȣσαν δε ȣδεν· αλλ' ανυηντω και απληςω κακω νοσημαλι ξυνεχομενην αρξει δε, κ. τ. λ. which Julian perhaps, for the ſake of brevity, omitted. PETAU.

ſoul

ſoul every thing that is mortal and brutiſh, except what muſt neceſſarily remain for corporeal uſes. If any one, reflecting on this, ſhould dread being engaged in ſuch a ſtate of life, would you rather recommend to him the Epicurean tranquillity, the gardens and ſuburbs of Athens, and the myrtles and cottage of Socrates? But I never preferred them to toils and dangers *. Theſe labours I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards to which I was expoſed from my friends and relations, when I was firſt inſtructed by your precepts, were you not well acquainted with them. To my conduct in Ionia, in oppoſition to one who was my relation by birth, but much nearer by friendſhip, and in favour of a man who was a foreigner, and little known to me, you are alſo no ſtranger. Did I not go abroad for the ſake of my friends? In behalf of Carterius, I need not tell you, I went unſolicited, and intreated the aſſiſtance of my friend Araxius †. On account of the effects of the excellent Areta, and the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered from her neighbours, did I not travel twice within two months into Phrygia, though my body

* The facts which Julian produces to prove that he never wanted courage fully convince me that this Epiſtle was prior to his reſidence in the Gauls. How many marks of firmneſs, how many valiant deeds, might he not have alleged, if it had been written after he was proclaimed Auguſtus? LA BLETERIE.

He might probably compoſe it at Vienne, where he paſſed the winter after his being appointed Cæſar.

† Ammianus mentions Araxius towards the end of b. xxvi, and relates, that, having eſpouſed the party of Procopius, when he was killed he was baniſhed to an iſland, and afterwards ſet at liberty. PETAU.

was infirm in conſequence of a diſorder contracted by former fatigues? Laſtly, before my journey into Greece, while I continued with the army, many would ſay, with the utmoſt hazard, recollect what kind of letters I wrote to you, whether they were in a plaintive ſtrain, or exhibited any marks of littleneſs, meanneſs, or ſervility. When I went again into Greece, did not I congratulate my good fortune, as if it had been a feſtival, affirming, that the change was moſt delightful to me, and that, according to the ſaying, I had gained

—Gold for braſs, what coſt a hundred beeves
For the low price of nine * ?

Such was my joy on being allowed to reſide in Greece, though I had neither a houſe, nor any land, not ſo much as a field or a garden there. But perhaps you will ſay, that though I may ſeem to bear adverſity with firmneſs, yet I am abject and puſillanimous in proſperity, as I prefer Athens to the ſplendor that now ſurrounds me †, regret that indolence, and, on account of my numerous avocations, deteſt my preſent ſtate of life. But a better opinion of us ſhould be

* Iliad. vi. 236. thus paraphraſed by Pope, 292.
For Diomed's braſs arms, of mean device,
For which nine oxen paid, a vulgar price,
He gave his own, of gold divinely wrought,
A hundred beeves the ſhining purchaſe bought.

† The Cæſars had all the marks of the Imperial power, excepting the diadem. LA BLETERIE.

formed of us, not only with regard to idleneſs and employment, but according to that maxim, "Know "thyſelf," and

That trade which he has learn'd let each man practiſe.

To govern ſeems to me more than human; and a king, as Plato ſays, "ſhould be of a ſuperior nature."

I will now quote a paſſage from Ariſtotle, to the ſame purpoſe; not "to carry owls to Athens *," as the ſaying is, but to ſhew that I have not entirely neglected his works. In his Political Diſcourſes †, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "If any one "ſhould think it beſt for a nation to be governed "by a king, what ſhall be determined in regard "to his children? Muſt his deſcendants alſo reign? "If they muſt, however incapable, much inconve- "nience may enſue. But will not the ſovereign "in poſſeſſion leave the government to his ſons ‡? "That he will not can ſcarce be ſuppoſed, as "being a taſk too arduous, and requiring a grea-

* Γλαυκα Αθηναιοις αγων, *Noctuas Athenis ducens.* To the ſame purpoſe is out Engliſh proverb, "carrying coals to "Newcaſtle." Equally needleſs was any information from Ariſtotle to Themiſtius.

† *Ariſtot. de Republicâ, lib.* III. *cap.* 15.

‡ In Ariſtotle it is Αλλ' ὁ καταλειψει τοις υιεις διαδοχους ὁ βασιλευς, επ' ἐξουσιας ἐχων τουτο ποιησαι; "Will not the king "leave his ſons his ſucceſſors, if he has it in his power?" The inſtance of Marcus Aurelius and his degenerate ſon Commodus (ſee the Cæſars, p. 161.) ſeems a caſe in point. The "taſk" of diſinheriting ſuch a monſter was too arduous, "the virtue" too exalted, even for that philoſopher.

ter

" ter degree of virtue than is the lot of human " nature."

Afterwards, ſpeaking of a king who governs according to law, of which he is the miniſter and guardian, and ſtyling him, " not a king," but ranking him in another claſs, he adds *, " As to " abſolute monarchy †, or arbitrary power, ſome " think it inconſiſtent with nature for one to be lord " of all ‡. For all men, being by nature equal, have " the ſame natural rights §." And, a little after, he ſays, " Whoever therefore would have reaſon " govern, would have God and the laws govern. " But whoever would give the government to man, " would give it to a wild beaſt ‖. For ſuch is con- " cupiſcence, and anger alſo debaſes ** the beſt men. " Law therefore is reaſon, exempt from paſſion."

The philoſopher, you obſerve, ſeems here to diſtruſt and reprobate human nature. For he ſays, in effect, that human nature is by no means equal to the eminence of ſuch an exalted ſtation. He thinks it difficult for a prince to prefer the general good of the ſtate to that of his

* *De Republ. l.* III. *c.* 16.

† Παμβασιλεια.

‡ Both the prince and the philoſopher chooſe, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obſcurity. GIBBON.

§ There follows in Ariſtotle, Και την αυτην αξιαν καλα φυσιν ειναι (" And, according to nature, the ſame rank.")

‖ Ο δε ανθρωποκτελευτος, θηρος θησι και θηριον. The MS. of Voſſius, unſatisfied with " a ſingle beaſt," affords the ſtronger reading of θηρια (" beaſts"), which the experience of deſpotiſm may warrant. GIBBON.

** Αρχοντας και (" magiſtrates and") is inſerted in Ariſtotle.

children, He ſays, that " it is unjuſt for one to " govern many of his equals." And at laſt, in the cloſe of his diſcourſe, he adds, that " law is " reaſon, exempt from paſſion;" and that " go- " vernment ſhould be entruſted to law alone, and " not to any man. For the reaſon that men poſ- " ſeſs, even if they are virtuous, is debaſed by " anger and luſt, moſt ſavage beaſts."

This doctrine of Ariſtotle ſeems perfectly agreeable to that of Plato. Firſt, he thinks that the governor ought to excell the governed, not only in virtue, but in nature; which is not eaſy to find among men. And alſo, that he ſhould, to the utmoſt of his power, obey the laws, not thoſe which were enacted on a ſudden emergency, or compiled by men who were not entirely governed by reaſon; but by ſuch, as, having pure minds and ſouls, had a view not only to preſent offences and contingencies, but from the nature of government, and alſo the nature of juſtice and of guilt, after obtaining all poſſible inſtruction, framed laws for all the people in general, without reſpect to friend or foe, to neighbour or relation. And this is much preferable, as they meant to promulge and tranſmit their laws, not to their contemporaries only, but to poſterity and foreigners, with whom they never had, nor expected to have, any connection or intercourſe. I have heard that the wiſe Solon, though by his civil inſtitutions he made the people free, incurred much reproach by conſulting with

his friends as to cancelling of debts *, and thus giving them an opportunity of improving their fortunes. So difficult it is to avoid such fatalities, even though a man were to enter into the public service unimpassioned.

As such are my apprehensions, I often regret my former state of life, and, in deference to you, I reflect that you have said, not only that those great legislators, Solon, Lycurgus, and Pittacus, were proposed for my emulation †, but also that I must quit the shade of philosophy for the open sunshine. As if you should say to a man, who, for the sake of his health, had used moderate exercise at home, "You must now repair to Olympia ‡, and "exchange your domestic recreation for the games "of Jupiter; where your spectators will be the "Greeks resorting from all parts; and, in parti- "cular, your fellow citizens, for whom you must "enter the lists; and also some Barbarians, whom "you must astonish, in order to render your country "as formidable to them as you can." This would immediately alarm him, and make him enter the lists with terror. Suppose me now affected in the same manner by your epistle. Whether my opinion on the subject be just or not, whether I am a little

* Before the resolution which Solon had taken to extinguish debts transpired in public, some of his friends borrowed large sums, well knowing that they should be excused from paying them. LA BLETERIE.

† See p. 7.

‡ A town of Peloponnesus, where was a temple of Jupiter, in honour of whom the Olympic games were celebrated there every fifth year.

miſtaken, or totally err, I expect to learn from you.

The matters in your epiſtle as to which I am doubtful, and therefore wiſh you to explain, my deareſt and moſt reſpectable friend, ſhall now be mentioned. You "prefer," you ſay, "an active "to a philoſophical life;" and you appeal to the teſtimony of the wiſe Ariſtotle, who makes happineſs conſiſt in acting well; but "whether a po- "litical or a contemplative life ſhould be preferred, "he was," you ſay, "rather undetermined." For, in ſome places, he gives the preference to contemplation; in others, he commends the "architects," as he ſtyles them, "of illuſtrious deeds." "Among "theſe," you ſay, "are kings." But Ariſtotle never uſes the word which you have introduced. And the contrary may rather be inferred from the paſſage that you have quoted. For inſtance: "We think thoſe acquit themſelves moſt properly "in all external actions, who are, as it were, men- "tal architects." This may be ſuppoſed to mean law-givers, or political philoſophers, and all who act merely by thought and reaſon, rather than the artificers of civil tranſactions; for whom it is not ſufficient to conſider, and deviſe, and inſtruct others in their duty; but every thing that the laws direct, or circumſtances may require, they muſt undertake and execute themſelves; unleſs we call him n architect, who is

——— in mighty actions ſkill'd *,

* Μεγαλων επιφορα εργων. Odyſſ. xxi. 26.

as

as Homer poetically ſtyles Hercules, the greateſt of ſuch artificers.

But if we admit this to be true, and think thoſe only happy who have adminiſtered public affairs, ſuch as have ruled or reigned over many, what then ſhall we ſay of Socrates? As to Pythagoras *, and Democritus †, and Anaxagoras ‡ the Clazomenian, they, perhaps you will ſay, were in another reſpect happy, on account of their contemplations. But Socrates, rejecting a ſpeculative, and preferring an active life, could not govern his own wife, nor his ſon, nor indeed reſtrain two or three diſorderly citizens. Will you ſay, that he was not active, as he was not a ruler? On the contrary, I maintain, that the ſon § of Sophroniſcus performed greater actions than Alexander ‖; for to him I aſcribe

* A philoſopher of Samos, who travelled as far as India, through Ægypt, in ſearch of knowledge; and on returning opened a ſchool in a remote part of Italy (Magna Græcia), in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. See Cic. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* IV. 1. He held the tranſmigration of ſouls, and was thought by his ſcholars infallible.

† Of Abdera, from his ridiculing the eager purſuit of welath and honour, known by the name of the laughing philoſopher. Yet his own father was ſo rich, that at one time he feaſted Xerxes and his army. He died at the age of 99 years. See Cic. *de Fin.* v. 29. and *Acad.* iv. 17.

‡ A man of high birth, and a higher mind, the preceptor of Pericles. See the Conſolatory oration on the deprture of Salluſt.

§ Socrates. His father was a ſtone-cutter of mean fortune, and his mother (Phænarete) a midwife.

‖ Julian is right in preferring Socrates to the conqueror of Aſia, the wiſeſt and moſt enlightened of philoſophers to the ſcourge of mankind. But whatever he may ſay of pretended philoſophical converſions, as rare as defective,

men derived very little advantage from the inſtructions of Socrates: witneſs the deplorable ſtate in which the nations by whom philoſophy was moſt cultivated were with regard both to religion and manners before the publication of the goſpel. It was reſerved for twelve men, of the dregs of the people, and of a nation which Athens and Rome conſidered as barbarous, to effect in the world a reformation which philoſophy had never attempted and deemed impoſſible. If men had had for apoſtles only Socrates, and the philoſophers of different ſects proceeding from his ſchool, the world would ſtill have been what it was formerly. In the midſt of the profoundeſt darkneſs, ſome men, a little leſs blind than the vulgar, and often more vicious, had a glimpſe of a ſmall number of truths, which ſerved as food for their pride, and exerciſe for their tongues, rather than as a rule for their conduct. Some conſidered every thing as problematical, even the exiſtence of God, and the principles of morality. Others, raving at vice, diſhonoured virtue, and affronted public decency. Some performed virtuous actions, but from fanaticiſm and ſelf-love. Many concealed, and badly concealed, under the philoſophical cloak, ſome abominations which now we dare not name. The moſt enlightened, through want of zeal for the truths with which they were beſt acquainted, and beſides not being able to ſupport them but by ſubtle and far from popular arguments, held them in captivity. They had not the courage merely to propoſe to the multitude the fundamental tenet of the unity of God. The people, without inſtruction, without principles, without manners, without an idea of the duties of man, ruſhed headlong into all the horrors of idolatry; and the pretended ſages, ſuch as Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, &c. had the meanneſs to worſhip in the temples the ſame Gods whom they ridiculed in their ſchools and in their writings: or at the moſt like Julian, and the Platoniſts of his time, by the aid of ſome arbitrary ſyſtem they formed a monſtrous mixture of the tenets of the divine unity together with the ſpeculative and practical follies of polytheiſm. It is even more than probable, that the general corruption and the various revolutions that happened in the world would have abſolutely extinguiſhed the weak lights of philoſophy if Chriſtianity had not come to ſtrengthen, purify, and extend them, and to place within the reach of the dulleſt minds both what the philoſophers could not, and what they dared not, teach. Probably the nations which diſmembered

the military ſkill of Xenophon *, the fortitude of Antiſthenes †, the Eretrian ‡ and Megarean § philoſophy; a Cebes ||, a Simmias **, a Phædon ††, and innumerable others; not to mention the colonies that we have received from Athens; from the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Academies ‡‡. Who is now preſerved by the victories of Alexander?

bered the Roman empire would again have plunged us into barbariſm, if the Chriſtian religion had not civiliſed them. Will thoſe who oppoſe it never have the equity to conſider, that without it they would certainly have been abandoned to the moſt fooliſh ſuperſtitions, and perhaps have been in a ſtate ſimilar to that of the ſavages of America? LA BLETERIE.

* Of the "military ſkill" of Xenophon there needs no other proof than the retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, which he conducted.

† The founder of the ſect of the *Cynics*, which Diogenes, one of his principal hearers, rendered ſo conſiderable. *Patientiam*, ſays Cicero (*de Orat.* III. 17.) *et duritiam in Socratico ſermone maximè adamarat.* He ſtyles him alſo (*ad Attic.* XII. 38.) *hominis acuti magis quàm eruditi.*

‡ From Menedemus, becauſe he was of Eretria [in Eubœa] the Eretrians were ſo called; all whoſe good was placed in the mind, and the quickneſs of its apprehenſion, by which truth is diſcerned. *Cic. Acad.* IV. 42.

§ From Euclid, a diſciple of Socrates, who was of Megara [in Achaia], his followers were ſtyled Megareans, who maintained that only to be good which was ſingle, and always the ſame. *Ibid.*

|| Of Thebes. He wrote three dialogues, whoſe titles are preſerved by Diogenes Laertius (*Vit. Philoſ.*) The firſt of them, his *Table*, is ſtill extant.

** Of Thebes alſo. Laertius enumerates twenty-three of his dialogues.

†† Phædon of Elis was firſt a ſlave, but being emancipated he ſtudied philoſophy, and became the chief of the ſect called Elean.

‡‡ The ſchools of Ariſtotle, Zeno (or the Stoics) and the Academics.

What nation is more wisely governed, what individual is improved, by them? Many you may find whom they have enriched, but none whom they have made wiser, or more temperate, either in themselves, or towards others: on the contrary, they have fomented pride and insolence; while all who are now reformed by philosophy, are reformed by Socrates. In this opinion I am supported by Aristotle, who seems to mean the same, by saying, that "the theological work *, which he was composing, required as great abilities as those which subverted the Persian empire." In this I think he reasoned right. For victories are principally owing to courage and fortune, and, if you please, a kind of prudential cunning. But he who conceives true ideas of God is not only endued with perfect virtue, but it may justly be doubted whether such a one should be styled a man or a God. For if it be true, that all things are so constituted as to be best known by those who are connected with them, he who is acquainted with the divine nature may, in like manner, be deemed a pure intelligence.

But since I am returned to the comparison between a contemplative and an active life, from which I had digressed, and which, at the beginning of your epistle, you wished to decline; I will

* Τῇ θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ, "On the nature of God." The sequel shews, that it should be thus translated. I know not what this work of Aristotle is; and Julian, if I mistake not, is the only one who has mentioned it. La Bleterie.

mention

mention the same philosophers that you did, Areus *, Nicolaus †, Thrasyllus ‡, and Musonius ||. Not one of these had the government of his country; though Areus, it is said, refused the præfecture of Ægypt, which was offered him. But Thrasyllus, being the intimate friend of that cruel tyrant Ti-

* A philosopher and a man of learning, who, with his two sons, Dionysius and Nicanor, was attached to the person of Augustus, whose confidence he possessed. Seneca says, that he was the comforter of Livia, when she seemed inconsolable for the loss of Drusus. *Senec. Consolat. ad Marciam.* LA BLETERIE.

† A friend of Augustus, M. Agrippa, and Herod the Great, who learned of him philosophy. At the desire of that king of the Jews, he wrote an universal history. He did honour to philosophy by his disinterestedness and generosity. He anticipated in every thing the wants of his friends, and said, that "money, like instruments of music, "was only useful to those who employed it." He composed the Life of Augustus, or rather the history of his education. We have only some fragments of his works, which are in the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, published by M. de Valois. *Ibid.*

‡ A Platonic philosopher and a celebrated astrologer. It appears in Tacitus, *Annal.* VI., with what address and presence of mind he contrived to escape the cruelty of Tiberius, and to gain his confidence. *Ibid.*

|| C. Caius Musonius Rufus, a Roman knight. Not contented with professing the Stoic philosophy, he endeavoured to diffuse it among the young nobility of Rome, and speaking freely of the conduct of Nero, that tyrant committed him to a dreadful prison, from whence he sent him first into the island of Gyaros, and afterwards to the isthmus of Corinth, there to work in chains. A friend commiserating his situation, "I had rather be here," said Musonius, "than act on a stage like Nero." After the death of his persecutor, he returned to Rome, and was the only philosopher whom Vespasian did not expell. As Julian says, that Musonius sustained the cruelty "of tyrants," he was again persecuted by some other besides Nero; no doub by Domitian. *Ibid.*

berius,

berius, unleſs he had exculpated himſelf by the diſcourſes that he has left, would have contracted a perpetual and indelible ſtain. Thus civil government was of no ſervice to him. Nicolaus was the artificer of no great deeds, and he is better known by his writings concerning them. Muſonius alſo, by ſupporting with fortitude and ſubduing by firmneſs the cruelty of tyrants, became diſtinguiſhed, and was no leſs happy than thoſe who governed the greateſt kingdoms. As for Areus, when he refuſed the præfecture of Ægypt, he willingly deprived himſelf of the greateſt happineſs, if he thought an active life the greateſt. You yourſelf too are inactive, as you neither command an army *, nor harangue the people, nor govern any nation

* Indeed the Themiſtius, with whom we are acquainted, was not a warrior. Nor did he harangue the people; no one, I imagine, had then that privilege, except the Emperors and Cæſars. He was not Præfect of Conſtantinople till the reign of Theodoſius. Nevertheleſs, the manner in which Julian here mentions the Themiſtius, to whom he is writing, would make one think, that he was rather a mere philoſopher, concentered in his ſchool, than the celebrated Themiſtius, who had been made ſenator of Conſtantinople two months before Julian was named Cæſar, and who had always the ambition to be at once a philoſopher and a ſtateſman. Beſides, the Themiſtius to whom the epiſtle is addreſſed, appears to have been one of the moſt intimate friends of Julian; and Themiſtius the ſenator, in an oration pronounced in the reign of Theodoſius, in which he boaſts of the regard which the Emperors had had for him, intimates that Julian did not love him, becauſe, he ſays, that prince had been forced (by truth, no doubt) to acknowledge him for the firſt of philoſophers. In ſhort, what is ſtill of more conſequence, Julian

nation or city: but does it follow, that you are not wise? And if you should form several philosophers, or only three or four, you would contribute more essentially to the happiness of mankind than many kings united. A philosopher acts no inconsiderable part; he is not, as you have said, the director only of public counsels, nor is his action confined to thinking. But if he confirm his words by his deeds, and appear such as he would have others to be, he will urge to action

Julian was not Cæsar when Themistius was made senator; yet Themistius, in the discourse where he thanks Constantius for his new dignity, congratulates the Emperor on having taken Julian for his colleague. These difficulties are very strong; but may it not be said in answer, 1. That Themistius was perhaps one of the senators who were styled *allecti* or *immunes*, and who enjoyed all the privileges of senators, without being obliged to exercise the functions? 2. Themistius was at least as good a courtier as philosopher. Policy therefore did not allow him to boast, in the reign of Theodosius, of having been the friend of Julian. He rather chose to have it then believed, that, if that prince had given him great marks of esteem, it was not so much from inclination and choice, as because he could not refuse them. The vanity of Themistius, which is very apparent in the oration in question, concurred with policy to make him speak this language. 3. It is true, that the letters by which Constantius made Themistius senator were read in the senate of Constantinople on the first of September, 355, and that Julian was not declared Cæsar till the sixth of November following; but the acknowledgement in which the new senator mentions the association of Julian was, as appears by the discourse itself, pronounced some time after the letters of Constantius had been read at Constantinople, and when it was just known that Julian was Cæsar. Nothing hinders our supposing that two months and a half, or three months, intervened between the reading of those letters and the discourse in question. La Bleterie.

with

with more perſuaſion and effect than thoſe who excite to it by command.

But I muſt now return to the ſubject with which I began, and conclude an epiſtle already perhaps too long. This is the ſum of it; that it is not for the ſake of avoiding fatigue, nor of purſuing pleaſure, nor from a love of ſloth and idleneſs, that I am averſe to public buſineſs; but, as I ſaid at the beginning, from a conſciouſneſs of my not having ſufficient knowledge or genius, and alſo from an apprehenſion of throwing a reproach on philoſophy (whom though I love I have not won, and who by the men of this age is already too much ſlighted), having written ſomething formerly, and now being corrected by your admonitions.

May God grant me ſucceſs, and prudence to deſerve it! I have now the utmoſt occaſion for the aſſiſtance principally of the Supreme Being, and alſo of you philoſophers, for whoſe credit I have expoſed myſelf to danger. If God ſhall by my means grant to mankind a bleſſing * beyond my abilities alone to procure, you will have no reaſon to be offended at my diſcourſes. For as I am conſcious of nothing good, this only excepted, that having nothing, I do not think that I abound †, I con-

* This bleſſing was particularly the re-eſtabliſhment of Paganism. LA BLETERIE.

† Ὅτι μηδὲ οἰομαι τα μεγιστα εχειν, εχων γε ἐδεν. As both Julian and his correſpondent were, no doubt, well acquainted with the writings of the Apoſtles, I will hazard a conjecture that this was intended as a ſneer on an expreſſion

continue to act, as you observe, in the same manner; and I intreat you not to form high expectations of me, but to submit every thing to God. So if any faults should be committed, I shall be blameless; but if all things should succeed to my wishes, I shall be grateful and moderate, not arrogating to myself the deeds of others, but ascribing, as is just, every thing to God *, and knowing that my acknowledgements are due to him, let me exhort you to return him yours also.

of St. Paul, in 2 Cor. vi. 10. Ως μηδεν εχοντες, και παντα κατεχοντες, *As having nothing, and yet possessing all things.* The expressions at least are very similar.

* That piety of spirit, that true magnanimity, which Julian here professes, has been nobly exemplified, while I am writing this, by a modern commander, the retriever of the glory of the British flag, whom we find, in the midst of the most brilliant success, "giving God the glory," and not scrupling to declare, that "It has pleased God, "out of his Divine Providence, to grant to his Majesty's "arms a most complete victory," &c. See Sir George Rodney's Letter in the London Gazette of May 18, 1782.

A CONSOLATORY ORATION ON THE DEPARTURE OF * SALLUST †.

A. D. 358. UNLESS, my dear friend, I communicate to you what has occurred to me in private, ſince I heard of your approaching departure, I ſhall

* One MS. adds, τὸν ἀγαθώτατον, (" the excellent.")

† This is a farewell encomium on Salluſt, who was going into Illyricum and Thrace, he being one of the few who was dear to Julian, and his confidential friend. He wrote this Oration when he governed the Gauls with the title of Cæſar, during the life of Conſtantius. The time when Julian celebrated the departure of Salluſt with this Oration may be aſcertained from a paſſage in the Epiſtle to the Athenians, where he mentions, that Conſtantius removed Salluſt from the Gauls, becauſe he was his friend.

PETAU.

This Oration exhibits to us a picture of an excellent temper, on the eminence to which Julian was now exalted, in not being able to be ſeparated from the deareſt and moſt uſeful guide and companion of his life without the utmoſt regret. SPANHEIM.

Salluſt was an officer of great merit, by birth a Gaul. What employment Conſtantius had given him in the Gauls is not known, but it was certainly one that was conſiderable. He was a Pagan, a man of learning, of great ability in buſineſs, and of diſtinguiſhed probity; ſufficient recommendations to the friendſhip of Julian. Salluſt had the rare talent of giving advice without petulance, and without that air of confidence, which too often renders the truth, and always thoſe who ſpeak it, diſguſting. The freedom with which he reproved the prince was ſoftened by

ſhall think myſelf deprived of ſome conſolation; or

by reſpect, cordiality, and tenderneſs. Julian revered him as a father, and all the good that Julian did was attributed to Salluſt, without exciting any jealouſy in Julian. The intrigues of Florentius and ſome other officers induced the Emperor to recall Salluſt, on a pretext that was honourable to him; but, in reality, to mortify Julian, who was left at the diſcretion of perſons unworthy of their poſts, and his profeſſed enemies. He was extremely concerned at the loſs of Salluſt. To aſſwage his grief, he addreſſed this diſcourſe to him, in which he takes leave of him in an affecting manner, with teſtimonies of the ſincereſt friendſhip and eſteem. Afterwards, when he was Emperor, he made him Præfect of the Gauls. LA BLETERIE.

On his entering the Perſian territories [April 13, 363], Julian received a letter from his old friend Salluſt [then in Gaul], conjuring him not to take the field till he had appeaſed the Gods, who ſeemed, by various prodigies, to declare againſt the Perſian war. But the die was caſt. *Ibid.*

See alſo Epiſtle XVII, and what M. de la Bleterie ſays farther of this diſcourſe in the Preface.

The meaſures of policy, and the operations of war, muſt ſubmit to the various operations of circumſtance and character, and the unpractiſed ſtudent will often be perplexed in the application of the moſt perfect theory. But in the acquiſition of this important ſcience Julian was aſſiſted by the active vigour of his own genius, as well as by the wiſdom and experience of Salluſt, an officer of rank, who ſoon conceived a ſincere attachment for a prince ſo worthy of his friendſhip; and whoſe incorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of inſinuating the harſheſt truths, without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear. GIBBON.

This excellent miniſter was ſpeedily recalled by the jealouſy of the Emperor; and we may ſtill read a ſenſible but pedantic diſcourſe, in which Julian deplores the loſs of ſo valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges himſelf indebted for his reputation. *Ibid.*

This Salluſt muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the venerable Præfect of the Eaſt, who had the ſingular honour of twice refuſing the empire, once after the death

or rather I ſhall imagine that my dignity * affords me no advantage unſhared by you. For having participated with each other in much joy, and in much grief, both in words and deeds, in public and in private, at home and in the field, for the preſent evils, be they what they may, we muſt both have recourſe to the ſame remedy. But who will ſupply us with a lyre like that of Orpheus, or with ſongs like thoſe of the Sirens, or with the drug Nepenthes †? Whether this was a fiction derived

of Julian, and again on the death of Jovian. Julian honoured the conſulſhip with the name of the Præfect of Gaul (A. D. 363.) *Ibid.*

The fourth Oration of Julian, *In Solem Regem*, compoſed in three nights, is addreſſed to the ſame Salluſt, and towards the concluſion he mentions a former work (now loſt) "on the Κρονια," or *Saturnalia*, which was alſo inſcribed to him, and of which one paragraph (quoted in the firſt note on the Cæſars, p. 145.), is preſerved by Suidas.

* Of Cæſar, which Conſtantius had conferred on him at Milan, Nov. 6, 355. See the Epiſtle to the Athenians, p. 77.

† Odyſ. IV. 221. On the arrival of Telemachus at the court of Menelaus at Sparta,

——— With genial joy to warm the ſoul,
Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inſpiring bowl;
Temper'd with drugs of ſovereign uſe t' aſſwage
The boiling boſom of tumultuous rage,
To clear the clouded front of wrinkled care,
And dry the fearful ſluices of deſpair.
. . . . . .
Theſe drugs, ſo friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife,
Who ſway'd the ſceptre, where prolific Nile
With various ſimples cloaths the fruitful ſoil, &c.

FENTON.

Julian

derived from Ægyptian lore, or was invented by the poet himſelf, and interwoven in his ſequel of the Trojan calamities, as if Helen had learned it in Ægypt, it expreſſes what ought to be the language of thoſe who wiſh to diſpel, not the miſeries which the Greeks and Trojans mutually inflicted, but mental ſufferings, and to reſtore chearfulneſs and tranquillity. For pleaſure and pain ſeem to flow from the ſame ſource, and in their turns ſucceed each other. And thoſe events which occaſion great labour, and trouble, in the opinion of the wiſe, give a mind, that is rightly diſpoſed, not more pain than pleaſure. Thus from the bittereſt herb that grows on Hymettus * the bee extracts ſweet juice, and works it into honey. Such bodies, as are healthy and robuſt, are nouriſhed by any kind of food, and that which is generally deemed unwholeſome, far from impairing, increaſes their ſtrength. But on thoſe, whoſe conſtitutions, by nature, education, or ſtudy, are weak, and through their whole life, valetudinary, the ſlighteſt attacks make violent impreſſions, So, in regard to the mind, thoſe who are thus ſuſceptible, muſt be

Julian refers to the ſame paſſage in his xxxvIIth Epiſtle. And Milton thus alludes to it, in his Maſk of Comus :

Not that Nepenthes which the wife of Thone,
In Ægypt, gave to Jove-born Helena,
Is of ſuch power to ſtir up joy as this,
To life ſo friendly, or ſo cool to thirſt.

* A mountain of Attica, famous for excellent honey.
Ubi non Hymetto mella decedant. Hor.

contented *] with being moderately well, and though they are not endued with the ſtrength of Antiſthenes † or Socrates, or the fortitude of Calliſthenes ‡, or the temperance of Polemo ||, yet if they can be ſerene in ſuch trials, perhaps in greater difficulties they may be chearful.

As to myſelf, ſenſible how much I ſuffer and ſhall ſuffer from your journey, my concern was equal to that which I felt on firſt leaving my preceptor §. For I immediately recollected the labours which we have ſhared, our pure and unfeigned affection, our innocent and unreſerved

* Imperfect. The tranſlator has ſupplied the chaſm by conjecture.

† A philoſopher and teacher of rhetoric at Rhodes, who, on hearing Socrates, bade his ſcholars ſeek a new maſter, for he had found one. He was the founder of the Cynic ſect, and the maſter of Diogenes.

‡ A philoſopher and diſciple of Ariſtotle, who frequented the court of Alexander the Great. On his oppoſing that prince being worſhipped in the Perſian manner, he was accuſed of a pretended conſpiracy, and cruelly expoſed to lions.

|| Polemo was a profligate young rake of Athens, and even diſtinguiſhed by the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. One day, after a riotous entertainment, he came reeling, with a chaplet on his head, into the ſchool of Xenocrates. The audience were greatly offended at his ſcandalous appearance; but the philoſopher went on, without any emotion, in a diſcourſe on temperance and ſobriety. Polemo was ſo ſtruck by his arguments, that he ſoon threw away his chaplet; and from that time became a diſciple of Xenocrates; and profited ſo well by his inſtructions, that he afterwards ſucceeded him in the Socratic ſchool.

Mrs. CARTER.

§ The eunuch Mardonius. See the Miſopogon.

con-

converſation, our concurrence in all things laudable, the alacrity and reſolution with which we uniformly oppoſed the wicked, and the firmneſs with which we conſtantly maintained our purpoſe, having one and the ſame mind, ſimilar manners, and being united by the ſtricteſt friendſhip. Beſides, I recollected that expreſſion,

—— On the field Ulyſſes ſtands alone *.

For I now much reſemble him, ſince God has removed you, like Hector †, far from the darts which have been launched at you by ſycophants; or rather at me, endeavouring to wound me through you; as thinking no method ſo certain as that of depriving me, if poſſible, of the ſociety of a faithful friend, an alert defender, and a ſharer, with the utmoſt alacrity, in all my dangers. You, I think, at being denied a participation in my cares and labours, are no leſs affected than I am; but on

* Il. xi. 401. Οἰωθὴ δ' Ὀδυσεύς. Pope, 509. It has before been remarked, (p. 3. note.) that it was faſhionable for the Greeks in general, and Julian, their admirer and imitator, in particular, to quote Homer at random on every occaſion. The above expreſſion is applied by the poet to Ulyſſes, when Diomed had been wounded by Paris, and obliged to quit the field.

† Il. xi. 164. This paſſage is again quoted and applied, with more propriety, by Julian to himſelf in his Allegorical Fable. That Hector was removed from the battle was a deſirable circumſtance to Ulyſſes; not ſo the deſertion of his friend Diomed. To this therefore the removal of Salluſt from Julian ſeems more applicable.

my account, and for my ſafety, are rather more anxious than myſelf. For as I never preferred my own intereſt to yours, I have always experienced from you the ſame attention. I am therefore juſtly and deeply concerned, that to you, who, with reſpect to others, can ſay,

"I heed them not, for my affairs are proſperous,"

I alone ſhould occaſion grief and anxiety. But in this, it ſeems, we are equal ſufferers; you, however, lamenting only on my account, but I conſtantly regretting the loſs of your ſociety, and recollecting the friendſhip which we mutually pledged to each other, cemented firſt and principally by virtue, and afterwards by the obligations, not from you to me, but thoſe which were largely conferred on me by you. This friendſhip we bound not by oaths, or other ſuch ties, like Theſeus and Pirithous *, but by a perpetual concurrence in opinion, in being ſo far from uniting to injure any one, as never to converſe on the ſubject. But if any thing happened advantageous to an individual, or the common good was in view, this engaged our private diſcourſe.

That I have abundant cauſe to lament, on being ſeparated, for ever ſo ſhort a time, not only from a friend, but, God knows, a faithful aſſiſtant,

* The ſworn friendſhip of theſe two heroes was proverbial. See the Life of Theſeus in Plutarch.

Socrates,

Socrates, I doubt not, the great herald and teacher of virtue, would allow; as far as his ſentiments may be conjectured from Plato. For theſe are his words: "Rightly to govern a ſtate, I deem a moſt "difficult taſk; for it cannot be governed without "faithful friends and counſellors; and ſuch can-"not eaſily be found." And if Plato thought this more arduous than digging through Athos, what can we expect, who in wiſdom and knowledge are more unequal to him than he was to God? But I not only regret the mutual aſſiſtance which we gave to each other, in civil adminiſtration, and which enabled us more eaſily to ſupport whatever happened unexpectedly either by accident, or by the machinations of our enemies; but the approaching loſs of my chief ſolace and delight rends and afflicts my heart. For what friend equally benevolent have I now remaining? Whoſe ſincere and innocent confidence ſhall I be able now to endure? Who will adviſe me prudently, reprove me mildly, confirm me in virtue without pride and arrogance, and uſe freedom of ſpeech without aſperity; like thoſe, who from medicines extract the nauſeous, and leave the uſeful? Theſe advantages * I have derived from your friendſhip. Deſtitute of

* In the original, Αλλα τυτο μεν εκ της σης φιλιας το ονειδος εκαρπωσαμην; literally, "But I have reaped this *diſgrace* from "your friendſhip." Perhaps we ſhould read το ονησον (*utile*). The Latin tranſlator renders it by *famam hanc* (which may be taken either in a good or bad ſenſe); and Mr. Gibbon (ſee his ſecond note, p. 31.) by "reputation."

that, how ſhall I compoſe numerous orations? Who, when, in deſpair, I am hazarding my life, from regret of you, of your counſels and benevolence, will perſuade me to be reſigned, and to ſubmit with fortitude to whatever God decrees? For this, in concurrence with him, the great Emperor * ſeems to have determined. By what method, by what charms, can the mind be enabled to ſupport ſuch anxiety and diſtreſs with moderation? Shall we imitate the diſcourſes of Zamolxis †, and mutter his incantations, which, when Socrates had introduced them at Athens, he obliged beautiful Charmides ‡ to ſing, before he would cure him of his head-ach? Or if theſe, as being too vaſt, and intended for greater trials, like large machines in a ſmall theatre, are unmanageable, yet, from former occurrences, collecting, as it were, from a variegated meadow, ſome choice and beautiful flowers, ſhall we ſolace our minds with narrations, interſperſing with them ſome ſtrictures from philoſophy? As draughts that are too luſcious are rendered

* Conſtantius.

† A Gete, and ſervant of Pythagoras, who, at his return, civilized his countrymen, and by them was reputed a God.

‡ An Athenian, the ſon of Glaucon, famous for his beauty. See the Dialogue of Plato ſo named, in which Charmides is an interlocutor. "If," ſays Socrates, "what "Critics here ſay be true, if you are extremely temperate, you have no more occaſion for Zamolxis, or the "incantations of Abaris, the Hyperborean; that alone will "be a ſufficient remedy for your head." Charmides is alſo mentioned by Plato in his Theages, Protagoras, and Banquet.

dered more palatable by the infuſion of certain drugs, ſo when ſuch narrations are ſeaſoned with ſome apt maxims of philoſophy, thoſe parts of ancient hiſtory which ſeem tedious are ſtripped of their redundant loquacity.

What firſt? What next? What laſt ſhall I relate *?

Was not Scipio, loving Lælius, and being equally loved by him, ſo cloſely connected with him, that he undertook nothing without having previouſly conſulted and adviſed with him? which occaſioned the envious traducers of his actions to ſay, that Lælius was the author of them, and Africanus only the performer. The ſame report prevails in regard to us, and I hear it, I confeſs, with great ſatisfaction. For to adopt the good advice of another ſeemed to Zeno† a proof of greater virtue than

* Odyſſ. IX. 14.

† Zeno, the founder of the Stoic ſect, was born at Citium, a ſea-port town in the iſland of Cyprus. He was originally a merchant, and very rich. On a voyage from Tyre, where he had been trading in purple, he was ſhipwrecked near the Piræum. During his ſtay at Athens, he happened to meet, in a bookſeller's ſhop, with the ſecond book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*; with which he was extremely delighted; and aſked the bookſeller where ſuch kind of perſons, as the author mentioned, were to be found. The bookſeller anſwered, pointing to Crates, the Cynic, who was luckily paſſing by, "Follow him;" which Zeno did, and became his diſciple. But his diſpoſition was too modeſt to approve of the Cynic indecency; and forſaking Crates, he applied himſelf to the Academics, whom he attended for ten years, and then formed a ſchool of his own. There was a conſtant ſeverity, or perhaps auſterity, in his manners, his dreſs, and his diſcourſe; except at an

than originally to conceive what is juſt and right thus altering a line of Heſiod:

That man is beſt who follows good advice *, from

——— who counſels wiſely for himſelf.

Yet I do not approve the alteration, as I think the ſaying of Heſiod much more true. But better than either is that of Pythagoras, from whom that proverb originated, "With friends all things are "common." This indeed does not refer to money only, but includes a communion of minds and underſtandings. So that what you ſuggeſt is no leſs the property of him who adopts it; and in ſuch parts of yours as I performed, you are juſtly entitled to a ſhare. But let thoſe actions be aſcribed to whom they will, they belong to another; and

entertainment, when he uſed to appear with chearfulneſs and eaſe. His morals were irreproachable; and he was preſented by the Athenians with a golden crown, becauſe his life was a public example of virtue, by its conformity with his words and doctrines. He lived ninety-eight years, and then ſtrangled himſelf, becauſe, in going out of his ſchool, he happened to fall down, and break his finger.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

* Ουτος μεν παναριστος, ος ευ ειποντι πιθηται.

In the Works and Days of Heſiod, ver. 291. we read,

Ουτος μεν παναριστος, ος αυτω παντα νοησει.

(In Julian, παιθ' εαυτω) to which latter hemiſtich, it ſeems, Zeno ſubſtituted part of ver. 293, viz.

Εσθλος δ' αυ κακεινος, ος ευ, κ. τ. λ.

He too is good, *who follows good advice.*

Heſiod and Livy thought, that he who counſelled wiſely for himſelf, was the firſt of men, and that he who followed the good advice of others was the ſecond. But Zeno preferred the latter.

of

of their ſuggeſtions the invidious can make no advantage.

I now return to Africanus and Lælius. After Carthage * was deſtroyed, and all Libya was ſubjected to Rome, Africanus diſpatched Lælius with the intelligence of his ſucceſs. Scipio was concerned at being thus ſeparated from his friend; yet he did not think his grief inconſolable. Lælius too, it is probable, was afflicted at departing alone; yet this calamity did not ſeem to him inſupportable. Cato alſo took a voyage, leaving his intimate friends at home. Pythagoras too travelled into Ægypt, and ſo did Plato and Democritus, without any companion, leaving behind them many whom they highly eſteemed. Pericles made war againſt Samos †, unaccompanied by Anaxagoras, and conquered Eubœa ‡; by his counſels indeed, for he was his

* By mentioning Libya afterwards, Julian ſeems to mean Old Carthage; but C. Lælius, as we learn from Livy (xxvii. 7.), was diſpatched to Rome by Scipio Africanus the elder, with the account of "the conqueſt," not deſtruction, "of New Carthage, the capital of Spain, in one "day." He was indeed diſpatched, many years after, by the younger Scipio, from Africa, with Syphax and other priſoners, and with the intelligence of the victory of Zama: but it does not appear that he was ſent with the account of the deſtruction of Old Carthage. Julian truſted much to his memory, which ſometimes deceived him.

† Making war with the Samians, Pericles gained a naval victory, and at laſt took their city.

‡ Eubœa having rebelled againſt the Athenians, he invaded it with a fleet and army, and reduced it to their obedience. See his Life in Plutarch.

pre-

preceptor *; but, like other neceſſaries, he did not take him perſonally with him to the field. It is reported, that the Athenians ſeparated him unwillingly from the ſociety of his preceptor. But, like a wiſe man, he bore the frenzy of his fellow-citizens with firmneſs and moderation; thinking that his country, greatly, though not juſtly, offended at their connection, ſhould, like a parent, be obeyed, and perhaps thus reaſoning with himſelf: (you muſt conſider what follows, as the words of Pericles.) "The world at large is my city and "country, and my friends the Gods and Genii, "and all the good, whoever they are, and where-"ever they reſide. But the place of our birth "deſerves reſpect, as this is the law of God, and "what ſhe commands ought to be obeyed, and "not oppoſed, leſt, as the proverb ſays, we kick "againſt the pricks †. The yoke of neceſſity, "as it is ſtyled, is implacable. Yet it is not to "be deplored and lamented, even when its weight "is the heavieſt, but the burthen itſelf is to be "rightly eſtimated. She now commands Anax-"agoras to leave me; ſo that I ſhall ſee no more "my beſt friend, on whoſe account I was diſ-"pleaſed with the night for ſecreting him from me, "and returned thanks to the day and the Sun for

* In the Phædrus of Plato, Socrates ſays, that "Pericles had this advantage of all other orators, that he had been a hearer of the philoſopher Anaxagoras." *Cic. Orat.* 4.

† Προς κεντρα λακτιζειν. The ſame proverb is uſed in the Acts of the Apoſtles, ix. 5.

"re-

" reſtoring to my ſight the chief object of my
" love. If nature, O Pericles, had given you
" no more ſight than ſhe has given to birds, had
" your grief been ſtill more poignant, it would not
" have been ſtrange. But as ſhe has not only
" breathed into you a ſoul, and implanted a mind,
" by whoſe recollection you diſcern, though abſent,
" many things that are now tranſacting at a diſ-
" tance, but has alſo endued you with reaſon,
" which, diſcovering many future events, reveals
" them, as it were, to the eyes of your mind, and
" a fancy, which, diſcloſing things preſent, ſub-
" mits to her judgement and inveſtigation not
" thoſe only which are the objects of ſight, but
" thoſe alſo which are many miles diſtant, more
" plainly even than ſuch as are at our feet,
" as it is ſaid, and before our eyes; what avail
" ſo much affliction and diſquiet? To produce au-
" thority for what I ſay, 'The mind ſees, and the
" mind hears,' ſays the Sicilian *. A being ſo
" acute, and endued with ſuch wonderful ſwiftneſs,
" that Homer, in order to expreſs the incredible
" velocity of one of the Gods, ſays,

* Ο Σικελιώτης. What author is here meant I cannot aſcertain. If Julian himſelf had been the ſpeaker, we might ſuppoſe him to refer either to Theocritus, (whom, in Epiſtle III. he ſtyles ὁ Σικελιώτης ποιητης) or Diodorus Siculus. But Pericles could not, without a great anachroniſm, quote a bard, who was above two hundred years, or an hiſtorian, who was near five hundred years, ſubſequent to himſelf.

" As

" As ſome way-faring man, who wanders o'er
" In thought — *.

" Aſſiſted by this, you may eaſily diſcern from " Athens one who is in Ionia; from the Gauls " thoſe who are in Illyricum and Thrace; and " him who is in the Gauls from Thrace or " Illyricum. For, though plants, when removed " from their native ſoil in an improper ſeaſon, " cannot be preſerved, yet men, when they travel " from place to place, do not, in like manner, " ſoon decay, or change their diſpoſition, or de- " viate from the right principles which they had " previouſly imbibed. Therefore if we do not " love with more ardour, we certainly ſhould not " abate in our benevolence. Luxury is attended " by laſciviouſneſs, but poverty by virtuous love. " Thus we ſhall be happier by the increaſe of " our mutual affection; and ſhall ſee ourſelves " fixed, like ſtatues in their niches, in the mind " of each other. Now I ſhall behold Anaxagoras, " and then Anaxagoras will behold me; for no- " thing prohibits our ſeeing each other; not the " fleſh and nerves, the face and form, or a bodily " repreſentation, (though nothing perhaps will " prevent even theſe appearing to our minds), but " the virtue, the actions, the diſcourſes, the con- " verſations, the meetings that frequently oc- " curred between us; when we not unſkilfully

* Il. xv. 80. Pope, 86. Homer here compares the flight of Juno, from Ida to Olympus, to a man travelling in idea.

" joined

" joined in the praiſe of education, and juſtice,
" and of that underſtanding which directs all
" things human and divine; and alſo on civil
" government, and laws, on virtuous conduct, and
" ingenuous ſtudies, we made ſuch obſervations
" as our memories ſuggeſted. Reflecting on theſe
" things, and ruminating on ſuch repreſentations,
" we ſhall diſregard the deluſions of nightly
" dreams; nor will the ſenſes, affected by a bad
" habit of body, preſent to the mind vain and
" empty viſions. For, inſtead of employing the
" aſſiſtance and miniſtration of the ſenſes, the
" mind will meditate on theſe ſubjects, and thus
" inure itſelf to the contemplation and compre-
" henſion of incorporeal objects. For by the
" mind we aſſociate even with the Almighty, and
" are naturally enabled to behold and inveſtigate
" things that eſcape our ſenſes, that are in place
" far diſtant, and even things that have no place *.
" And ſuch a viſion all whoſe lives have rendered
" them worthy of it, conceive in their minds and
" perfectly enjoy."

* Thus Shakeſpeare:

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to ſhape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation, and a name.

Midſummer Night's Dream, Act V. Sc. I.

Pericles

Pericles, being endued with true magnanimity, and educated free in a free city, might ſolace himſelf with ſuch ſublime meditations. But I, born "in theſe degenerate days *," conſole and beguile my mind, and aſſwage the bitterneſs of my ſorrow, by arguments more human; thus endeavouring to apply ſome remedy to the many anxious and diſtreſſing ideas which on that ſubject perpetually aſſail me; like a charm againſt the bite of a wild beaſt, deeply wounding my heart and vitals. Of all my afflictions this is the principal; I am now left alone, deprived of a ſincere, ſocial intercourſe, and an unreſerved communication. For I have none remaining whom I can conſult with equal confidence. But cannot I eaſily converſe with myſelf? Or cannot ſome other engage my thoughts, and oblige me to regard and attend to ſubjects not of my own chooſing? Is not this ſimilar to writing on water, or boiling a ſtone, or inveſtigating the traces of the flight of birds? Our converſing on ſuch ſubjects none can hinder. And perhaps God will ſuggeſt ſomething better. For it is impoſſible that a man who gives himſelf up to the Almighty ſhould be entirely neglected and deſerted by him. But God with his own arm defends him, endues him with ſtrength, inſpires him with courage, inſtills into his mind what he ſhould do, and deters him from what he ſhould forbear. A divine voice

* Οιοι νυν βροτοι εισ'. Il. v. 304. An expreſſion often quoted by our author.

accom-

accompanied Socrates *, forbidding him to do

* The notion of Socrates having a ſupernatural attendant, either an evil ſpirit, as ſome of the Fathers imagined, or a good one, as others have conceived, has been lately diſcuſſed, in "an Eſſay on the Dæmon or Divination of "Socrates," by Mr. Nares, who maintains, "that the "divinations of Socrates were perfectly analogous to thoſe "in common uſe at the time in which he lived; but that "he, from a ſcrupulous exactneſs in his expreſſions, (and "probably alſo with a deſire to inculcate, as frequently "as poſſible, the notion of a conſtantly active and ſuper-"intending providence) choſe rather to refer his divi-"nation always to its primary and original cauſe, the "Gods, than to their ſecondary and unconſcious inſtru-"ments, the omens by which it was conveyed. In con-"ſequence of theſe ideas, he appropriated to the ſubject "an expreſſion, which firſt the malice of his enemies, and "ſince the miſtaken zeal of his friends, have wreſted to "his diſadvantage, as if he had pretended to a communi-"cation with ſome attendant Dæmon; than which nothing "could be more remote from his ideas. It appears, in-"deed, that he conceived the particular ſignal, or omen, "by which he was directed, to be ſomething in a manner "appropriated; or at leaſt more accurately obſerved and "attended to by him than by others. But in this there is "nothing repugnant to the common notions of prophetic "warnings in his and every age, nor in the leaſt ſubverſive "of what has been here advanced. From this repreſen-"tation of the matter it will appear, that there is, in "the hiſtory of this extraordinary man, nothing which "can countenance the vague and romantic notion of "attendant tutelar dæmons; nor any thing which can "in the leaſt invalidate our conceptions of his ſtrict in-"tegrity and open diſpoſition: a concluſion, which every "lover of philoſophy will doubtleſs embrace with pleaſure, "if the arguments and authorities which form the foun-"dation of it be deemed of ſufficient ſtrength." The author ſupports this ingenious hypotheſis by paſſages to the ſame purpoſe from Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch.

If Julian had not been more a Greek than a Roman, he would have mentioned alſo, on this occaſion, Numa and his nymph Egeria.

whatever was improper. And Homer says of Achilles, "His mind was inspired *," intimating, that our thoughts are suggested by God, when the mind, by reflection, converses first with itself, and then privately with God, without interruption; for the mind requires not ears to learn, nor God a voice to teach, what is necessary, but, without sensation, a participation of the Almighty is given to the mind. How, and in what manner, I have not leisure now to examine; but that this is effected there are sure and faithful witnesses, not such as are ignoble, and to be classed with the Megarensians, but those who have had the first reputation in wisdom. Therefore, as we expect that God will be for ever present with us, and that we shall again have a mutual intercourse, the violence of our affliction ought to abate. Even Ulysses, who so much lamented his confinement in an island for seven whole years, though I praise him for his bravery on other occasions, I admire not for his grief on this. For what availed his gazing on the sea, and shedding tears †? Not to be dejected and dispirited by misfortunes, but to act with intrepidity in the midst of danger and destruction, seems indeed more than can be expected from man. But it

* By Juno. Il. I. 55. Thus also Virgil, *Hic mentem Æneæ genitrix pulcherrima misit.* Æn. XII. 554.

† Odyss. v. 82. All on the lonely shore he sat to weep,
And roll'd his eyes around the restless deep;
Tow'rd his lov'd coast he roll'd his eyes in vain,
Till dimm'd with rising grief, they stream'd again.
Pope, 105.

is

is unjuſt to praiſe, and not to imitate, the ancients, or to think that God readily aſſiſted them; but will overlook thoſe of this age whom he ſees attached to virtue, ſince on that account he was pleaſed with them. It was not for perſonal beauty; or Nireus * would have been more beloved by him. Nor was it for ſtrength; as the Læſtrygons † and Cyclops ‡ were greatly ſuperior in ſtrength to Ulyſſes. Nor was it for riches; for then Troy would have remained in ſafety. But why ſhould we labour to inveſtigate the reaſon of the poet's ſaying that Ulyſſes was beloved by God §, when we may hear it from himſelf?

Becauſe, in every uſeful art refin'd,
His words were eloquent, and wiſe his mind ‖.

It is plain therefore, that, if we have theſe endowments, the Almighty will not deny us his ſupport, but, according to the oracle given of

* Il. 11. 671. Nireus is here mentioned as the moſt beautiful of the Greeks, Achilles only excepted; but his name never occurs again; for

— few his troops, and ſmall his ſtrength in war.

It is remarkable, that Nireus is introduced by Euripides [Iphigenia in Aulis] as accompanying Ulyſſes, though their manners were unſuitable, and their dominions [Syma and Ithaca] far diſtant. In the VIth book of Quintus Calaber, Nireus falls by the ſpear of Eurypylus. WODHULL.

† Odyſſ. x. 119, &c.

‡ Ibid. IX. 125, &c.

§ Θεοφιλὴ Διὶ φίλος (beloved by Jupiter) in Il. XI. 419, 473.

‖ Odyſſ. XIII. 332. [Minerva] by ſaying to Ulyſſes, that ſhe would never overlook nor deſert him, "Becauſe, &c." ſhews that of all we have, virtue only is eſteemed by God and divine. *Plutarch. de audiendis Poetis.*

old to the Lacedæmonians, invoked, or not invoked, God will be preſent with us.

Having thus ſought conſolation, I now return to that circumſtance, which, though at firſt it ſeems trivial, is generally thought of no ſmall importance. Alexander is ſaid to have wiſhed for Homer, not as a friend indeed, but as a herald, as he was to Achilles, and Patroclus, and the two Ajaces, and Antilochus. But he, always deſpiſing what he had, and coveting what he had not, ſlighted his contemporaries, and was never ſatisfied with what was granted him. If he had been indulged with Homer, he would probably have requeſted the lyre of Apollo, on which he played at the nuptials of Peleus *, thinking it not a fiction of the genius of Homer, but a true fact related in verſe, like theſe.

Aurora now, fair daughter of the dawn,
Sprinkled with roſy light the dewy lawn †.
And, The Sun aroſe ‡.
And, Crete, a fruitful ſoil §.

* Il. xxiv. 62. Juno ſays to the Gods,
To grace thoſe nuptials, from the bright abode,
Yourſelves were preſent; where this minſtrel-god
(Well pleas'd to ſhare the feaſt) amid the choir,
Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre. Pope.
This harmonious banquet is alſo celebrated by Euripides, in one of the choruſſes of his Iphigenia in Aulis. Apollo is there introduced foretelling the glory of Achilles.

† Il. viii. 1. Pope.

‡ Odyſſ. iii. 1.

§ Ibid. xix. 172. Fenton.

And

And other ſimilar paſſages of the poets, which are plain and obvious, as ſome of the objects ſtill remain, and ſome of the facts are ſtill tranſacted.

But whether the excellence of his virtue, and a wiſdom, by no means inferior to his great ſuperfluity of worldly happineſs, inflamed his mind with ſuch ambition, that he coveted more than any one elſe; or whether the exceſs of his valour and intrepidity tended to arrogance, and bordered on oſtentation; muſt be left to the diſcuſſion of thoſe who would compoſe his panegyric or ſatire; if any ſhare of the latter can be thought his due. I, on the contrary, always ſatisfied with what is preſent, and not in the leaſt deſirous of what is abſent, contentedly acquieſce in having my merits proclaimed by a herald who has been a ſpectator and a fellow-combatant with me in all *, but whoſe judgement partiality never biaſſes, nor prejudice perverts. Sufficient is it for me to profeſs my friendſhip; in other reſpects I ſhall be more ſilent than thoſe who are initiated by Pythagoras †.

But here I muſt advert to the general report, namely, that you are going not only among the Illyrians, but alſo to the Thracians, and thoſe

* Salluſt himſelf, no doubt, on whoſe repreſentation of his conduct Julian might indeed ſafely rely.

† The ſcholars of this philoſopher in their probation were enjoined ſilence, and were only to hear; which time was called ἐχεμυθία. *Gell.* 1. 9. See the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, p. 21. note *.

Greeks who dwell near that ſea *. This, being the place of my birth and education, has inſpired me with a great regard for thoſe people, and their country, and cities; and an equal regard perhaps they retain for me. To them, I am confident, your arrival will be moſt acceptable, and that they will think it a happy exchange, as you have left me here. By ſaying this, I mean not to inſinuate that I wiſh it; on the contrary, if you could return hither immediately, by the ſame road, I ſhould be much more gratified. But as it muſt happen, I am conſidering how to ſupport it with firmneſs and equanimity, while I congratulate them on ſeeing you juſt come from us. On your account, I reconcile myſelf to the Gauls; deeming you worthy of being ranked among the firſt of the Greeks, in juſtice and other virtues; as being alſo an adept in oratory, and far from a novice in philoſophy, in which the Greeks alone are perfect; inveſtigating truth, as its nature requires, by reaſon, and not ſuffering us to be deluded by idle inventions, and incredible fables, like many of the Barbarians.

And now (to diſmiſs you with auſpicious omens) where-ever you go, may the benevolent God be your guide, and Jupiter the friendly and hoſpitable receive you, conducting you ſafely by land, and, if you embark, ſmoothing the waves! May you be loved and honoured by all men; ſo that they may rejoice at your arrival, and lament at your

* The Propontis, which laves Conſtantinople, where Julian was born. It divides the Helleſpont and the Thracian Boſphorus.

departure! Still retaining your affection for us, may you never want the ſociety of a friend equally faithful! May God alſo conciliate to you the favour of the Emperor; may he regulate every other circumſtance to your complete ſatisfaction; and grant you a ſafe and ſpeedy return to your own country and to us! In theſe prayers for you I unite with the good and virtuous. Let me add,

With health, with joy, to his lov'd native ſhore
May the kind Gods my honour'd friend reſtore *!

* Ουλε τε, και μεγα χαιρε· θεοι δε τοι ολβια δοιεν,
Νοστησαι οικον δε φιλην ες πατριδα γαιαν.

The firſt line is taken from ver. 401, and the ſecond is an alteration of Νοστησαντα inver. 404, of Odyſſ. xxiv. with the addition of moſt part of ver. 562 of Odyſſ. x.

Beſides the warmth of affection that breathes through this whole compoſition, ſeveral parts of it, eſpecially the concluſion, in the original, are poetical without being turgid.

JULIAN CÆSAR TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS *.

A. D. 360. EVER retaining one and the ſame opinion, I have adhered to what I faithfully purpoſed, not leſs from principle than by the covenant of treaties, as has evidently appeared in various inſtances. As ſoon as I was created Cæſar, you expoſed me to all the tumults and horrors of battle; yet, contented with a delegated authority, like a faithful apparitor, I filled your ears with frequent accounts of ſucceſſes anſwerable to your wiſhes; never dwelling on my own dangers, though by continual proofs it may appear, the Germans being every where ſcattered and diſordered, that I was always the firſt in labours, but the laſt in refreſhment.

* The Gallic legions being ordered by Conſtantius to march into the Eaſt, a tumult aroſe (as Julian himſelf relates more particularly in the ſucceeding epiſtle to the Athenians); and from the ſubordinate dignity of Cæſar he was exalted by the army to the ſupreme rank of Auguſtus. This epiſtle, written ſoon after that event, is preſerved by Ammianus.

He compoſed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a ſpecious and moderate epiſtle, which was delivered to Pentadius, his maſter of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambaſſadors, whom he appointed to receive the anſwer, and obſerve the diſpoſitions, of Conſtantius.

GIBBON.

But, with your leave, I will inform you whether any innovations have now been made, as you imagine. The ſoldiers, waſting their lives in many and ſevere wars, without advantage, have formerly held conſultations, raging and impatient of a ruler in the ſecond place, being ſenſible that no recompence can be made them by the Cæſar for their daily fatigues and frequent victories; their reſentment has been appeaſed by no increaſe of honours, not even by a year's pay now due, to which this alſo has been unexpectedly added; their being ordered to the moſt diſtant parts of the Eaſtern world, men accuſtomed to frozen climates were to be ſeparated from their wives and children, and were dragged forth indigent and naked. Being therefore more bitterly enraged than uſual, aſſembling in the night, they beſieged the palace, exclaiming JULIAN AUGUSTUS with loud and repeated cries. I trembled, I confeſs, and withdrew; and while I could, ſought ſafety by ſilence * and retirement. But no reſpite being allowed, guarded, as I may ſay, by the free fortreſs of my breaſt, I went forth and preſented myſelf to them, thinking that my authority or mild words might allay the diſturbance. Their fury was wonderful, and it went ſo far, that, on my endeavouring by intreaties to conquer their obſtinacy, ruſhing cloſe up to me, they threatened inſtant death. At length ſubdued, and conjec-

* In the original, *ſimulatione*. I prefer the correction of Gelenius, *muſſatione*.

turing *, that, when I was killed, another perhaps would be declared prince, I aſſented, thus hoping to appeaſe the tumult.

This is the ſubſtance of what has happened, which I requeſt you to accept with complacence. And think not that any thing is miſrepreſented, or credit the evil reports of the malicious, who are accuſtomed to promote the revolts of princes for their own advantage; but baniſhing flattery, the nurſe of vice, cultivate the moſt excellent of all virtues, juſtice; and receive with good faith the equitable terms which I offer, conſidering them as beneficial both to the Roman ſtate and to us, who are allied by conſanguinity, and by the eminence of ſuperior rank. Theſe requeſts, (excuſe me) as they are founded in reaſon, I am leſs anxious for your granting than for your approving and thinking them juſt and proper. I am ready alſo with chearfulneſs to obey your commands. What may be neceſſary I will reduce into a ſhort compaſs.

I will furniſh Spaniſh horſes † for your chariots, and ſome Letian‡ youths, ſprung from Barbarians on

* In the original, *Mecúmque ipſe conteſtans*. In the margin of the Royal MS. *conjectans* is written in the ſame hand. VALOIS.

The tranſlator has adopted the latter.

† Zonaras ſays the ſame thing. And he adds, that Julian inſcribed his letter with the name of Cæſar, not Auguſtus, leſt Conſtantius, offended at it, ſhould immediately diſdain it: which Julian alſo confirms in his Epiſtle to the Athenians. *Ibid.*

‡ The Leti, or Læti, were ſome half-barbarians, who dwelt in the Gauls; or (as our Ammianus ſubjoins) *cis Rhenum edita barbarorum progenies*. *Ibid.*

this ſide the Rhine, or, at leaſt, from vaſſals who have revolted to us, to be incorporated with your provincials and targeteers. And theſe, as long as I live, I promiſe to ſupply, not only with gratitude but delight. Prætorian præfects, of diſtinguiſhed equity and merit, ſhall be given us by your clemency *. As for the other uſual magiſtrates, and the directors of the war, it is proper that they ſhould be left to my nomination, and alſo the guards. For, when they can previouſly be learned, it is abſurd for the manners and tempers of thoſe who are ſtationed by the Emperor's ſide to be unknown to him. The following rule, without the leaſt heſitation, I would eſtabliſh: Gallic recruits, juſt enliſted, ſhould not be ſent, either voluntarily, or by force, to foreign and far diſtant countries, and oppreſſed with daily fatigues or vexatious accidents, leſt the youth ſhould be totally exhauſted, being afflicted with the recollection of paſt, and ſinking under impending, dangers. Nor can it be proper to oppoſe the Parthians with auxiliaries drawn from hence, ſince the barbaric fury is not yet quelled, and (if you will permit me to ſpeak the truth) theſe provinces, harraſſed by continual misfortunes, require external and powerful aſſiſtance. In giving this advice I ſtudy, I am convinced, the public good, requeſting and intreating; for I know, not to arrogate more than my ſtation warrants, what embarraſſed and deſperate

* A term of reſpect, like "majeſty," &c.

affairs

affairs have been retrieved by the agreement of princes mutually complying with each other; and the example of our anceſtors will ſhew, that rulers, thinking in this and the like manner, have, as it were, diſcovered the method of living happily, and of endearing their memory to the lateſt times *.

* In this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already poſſeſſed. The delegated authority which he had long exerciſed over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was ſtill obeyed under a name more independent and auguſt. The ſoldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution, which was not ſtained with blood. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a priſoner. The perſons who were diſaffected to the new government were diſarmed and ſecured; and the vacant offices were diſtributed according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince who deſpiſed the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the ſoldiers. GIBBON.

"To this oſtenſible epiſtle he added," ſays Ammianus, "private letters, *objurgatorias et mordaces*," which the hiſtorian had not ſeen, and would not have publiſhed. Perhaps they never exiſted. *Ibid.*

Theſe "ſtinging" letters, Zonaras ſays, were not ſent by Julian at that time, but afterwards, when Leonas, who had been ambaſſador to Julian, returned unſucceſsful to Conſtantius. "Leonas therefore, deſpairing of being able to "execute any part of his commiſſion, returned with the "letters of Julian, in which he impudently upbraided the "Emperor, as having been very criminal towards his re"lations, and threatened that he would revenge their in"juries." VALOIS.

The ambaſſadors found Conſtantius at Cæſarea in Cappadocia. On reading the letters with which they were charged, this prince flew into a dreadful paſſion; and viewing them with a look that ſeemed to threaten their lives, he commanded them to withdraw, without condeſcending to give them any further audience, or to aſk them any queſtions. He was very near quitting the Perſian war to march directly againſt Julian. However, he only diſpatched a Quæſtor, named Leonas, to him, with a menacing letter, and recalled his principal officers. LA BLETERIE.

THE

The Emperor Julian to the Senate and People of Athens *.

THOUGH many actions have been performed by your anceſtors, for which you, as well as they, are juſtly renowned, and though many trophies have been erected by all Greece in general, and A. D. 361.

* Julian wrote this epiſtle ſoon after his being proclaimed Emperor in the Gauls; and while he was marching with his army againſt Conſtantius. For Libanius affirms, that he then wrote letters to ſeveral cities of Greece, in order to exculpate his aſſuming the empire to other nations. "He was ſo much more ſolicitous," ſays that orator, in his Panegyric on the conſulſhip of Julian, "to "exculpate himſelf than to gain a victory, that, while he "was expoſed to the greateſt dangers, he apologiſed for him-"ſelf by the Greeks, to all mankind, writing epiſtles to "them, according to the ſeveral diſpoſitions of each city, "ſome longer, and ſome ſhorter, as might ſuit thoſe to "whom they were addreſſed."

This epiſtle therefore explains the motives of his conduct, and fully deſcribes the patience with which he had hitherto borne the repeated injuries and provocations of Conſtantius, and the great reluctance with which, by the concurrence of the army, he was exalted to the empire. Indeed, of all the remains of that apoſtate, none ſeems to me more worthy of publication and the peruſal of the learned, eſpecially of thoſe who ſtudy hiſtory. For it accurately relates that whole tranſaction, throws light on many parts of this ſubject tranſmitted to us by Ammianus and others, and alſo contains ſeveral hiſtorical facts and circumſtances not to be found elſewhere. The great regard which Julian had for Athens and the Athenians, and the reaſons

and by your city in particular, when ſhe contended ſingly either with the neighbouring ſtates, or with the Barbarians, none of her deeds are ſo diſtinguiſhed, no acts of her heroiſm ſo illuſtrious, as not to be rivalled by the other cities. In ſome, they have co-operated with you; others they have performed unaided and alone. But leſt, by mentioning particulars, I ſhould ſeem to draw an odious compariſon, or to give an invidious preference, in order to ſerve my cauſe, as is uſual with orators, who by faintly praiſing, really de-

reaſons why he reſorted thither, Gregory of Nazianzus declares in his ſecond oration ταλητ. PETAU.

After having made himſelf maſter of the paſs of the Succi, in his march againſt Conſtantius, while Julian reſided at Naiſſus in Illyricum, waiting for his troops, and making new levies, he wrote to ſeveral cities of Greece, among others to Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, not only to engage them in his intereſt, but alſo to juſtify his procedings.

In particular, he made it a point of honour and religion to take for judges the Athenians, ſo celebrated in antiquity for their love of juſtice, by carrying his cauſe to the tribunal of Areopagus, where the Gods had formerly appeared. Of all his manifeſtoes we have only that which was addreſſed to them. It is an eloquent and perfectly well-written piece. LA BLETERIE.

The moſt authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian is contained in this epiſtle, or manifeſto. It deſerves the praiſes of the Abbé de la Bleterie, and is one of the beſt manifeſtoes to be found in any language. GIBBON.

His epiſtle to the Senate and people of Athens, ſeems to have been dictated by an elegant enthuſiaſm, which prompted him to ſubmit his actions and motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the ſame humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Ariſtides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. *Ibid.*

preciate

preciate and decry the merit of their opponents, this only I will ſay of you, to which of all that tradition has tranſmitted the other Greeks can produce nothing parallel. You obtained the dominion over the Lacedæmonians, not by the force of your arms, but by the fame of your juſtice. Ariſtides * the Juſt was formed by your laws. And theſe proofs of your virtue, ſplendid as they are, you have confirmed by ſtill more ſplendid facts. For in mere matters of opinion we are liable to miſtake, nor is it unuſual to find, among many wicked men, one who is virtuous. Is not Deioces † celebrated among the Medes, Abaris ‡ among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharſis § among the Scythians; of whom it was remarkable, that, though they lived in nations notoriouſly unjuſt, they nevertheleſs cultivated juſtice? The two laſt ſincerely; the firſt was prompted by intereſt to diſ-

* See his Life in Cornelius Nepos.

† He determined with ſo much prudence the differences of the Medes, that he deſerved to be choſen their king. He built, according to Herodotus, the city of Ecbatana, and reigned forty years, from the year of the world 3358 to 3398. MORERI.

‡ A Scythian, who wrote Apollo's Northern Journey in verſe, oracles, predictions, &c. Jamblichus ſays, he was a ſcholar of Pythagoras, which does not agree with what the ancients affirm of Abaris being prior even to Solon. *Ibid.*

§ Another Scythian, contemporary with Solon, of whom he learned philoſophy at Athens.

He was the only philoſopher of his nation, whence the proverb, *Anacharſis inter Scythas.* At length he was killed by his brother the king of Scythia, for endeavouring to introduce the Athenian laws. See Diogenes Laërtius, in his life, *l.* 1.

ſemble

ſemble it. But it is difficult to produce a whole city and nation, who practiſe juſtice, both in word and deed, except yourſelves. Of many inſtances that have occurred among you it may be ſufficient to mention one. When Themiſtocles *, after the Perſian war, had formed a plan of privately ſetting fire to the naval arſenals of the Greeks, and dared not publickly to propoſe it, but ſaid, he would communicate the ſecret to any one whom the people by their ſuffrages would elect, they named Ariſtides. He, on hearing the propoſal, concealed the particulars, and only informed the people, that "nothing could be more advan-"tageous, but at the ſame time more unjuſt, than "the advice of Themiſtocles." Upon which, the city immediately diſclaimed and declined it; a ſignal inſtance of magnanimity, and highly becoming a people educated under the eye of the wiſeſt Goddeſs!

If theſe things happened among you in ancient times, and a ſmall ſpark, as it were, of the virtue of your anceſtors has ever ſince been preſerved, you ought, when you hear of any great action, to conſider, not the ſurpriſing ſingularity of it, like that of a man walking with as much ſtrength and agility as if he had wings, but whether its motives were juſt and right. And if ſo, both in public and private it will receive your deſerved applauſe; if not, it will with reaſon be diſregarded and condemned. Nothing is ſo nearly allied to wiſdom as

* See his Life in Plutarch.

juſtice. Thoſe therefore who deſpiſe it you ſhould baniſh as profaners of your Goddeſs. Though you are not ſtrangers to my affairs, this is the occaſion of my preſent addreſs. If any thing ſhould chance to have eſcaped your knowledge (and ſome particulars probably may, even of thoſe in which you all are intereſted), it may thus be communicated to you, and by you to the other Greeks. And let me not be charged with trifling, if I endeavour to compriſe in my diſcourſe thoſe ſcenes which have lately been preſented to the eyes of all men, as well as former tranſactions, as I wiſh to have every thing that relates to me generally known. I will begin with my anceſtors.

That the family of my father, and that of Conſtantius, had the ſame origin, you need not be informed. Our fathers were brothers, having the ſame father. How that moſt humane Emperor acted afterwards towards me, who was ſo nearly related to him, and how he unjuſtly put to death ſix of his own and my couſins, as well as my father, his own uncle, together with another uncle of us both, and alſo my elder brother *; and after having

* He ſays, that "ſix couſins and two uncles" were ſlain by Conſtantius. The latter, I find in the hiſtory of thoſe times, were [Julius] Conſtantius, the father of Julian, and Dalmatius, both ſons of [Conſtantius] Chlorus, by Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian-Herculius, and brothers of Conſtantine. [See the "Pedigree of Julian."] But the hiſtorians mention only "three" couſin-germans, viz. Dalmatianus and Hannibalianus, the ſons of Dalmatius, and Nepotianus, the ſon of Eutropia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine. The others were killed, ſoon after the death of

ing intended to deſtroy me * and another brother †, changed our ſentence into baniſhment, from which he afterwards releaſed me, but deprived him, juſt before he was killed, of the name of Cæſar; all theſe dreadful tragical events why ſhould I relate? eſpecially, as he is ſaid to have repented, and to have been much afflicted, attributing to them his want of children, and alſo his ill ſucceſs in the

of Conſtantine, by a conſpiracy of the ſoldiers. Nepotianus was ſlain after the death of Conſtans, not, however, by Conſtantius, but by the tyrant Magnentius. So ſay Socrates, Zoſimus, Eutropius, and Victor. I read therefore of but "two" couſins ſlain by Conſtantius. The reſt let the diligent and learned inveſtigate. PETAU.

* We learn, from this paſſage, what is mentioned, as I recollect, by no other writer, that Julian had, beſides Gallus Cæſar, another, and that an elder brother, whom he here plainly diſtinguiſhes from Gallus, and mentions to have been killed, before Gallus was Cæſar, by Conſtantius. Who he was, or what was his name, I profeſs myſelf to be ignorant. But ſo was Socrates. *Ibid.*

Julian here charges his couſin Conſtantius with the whole guilt of a maſſacre, from which he himſelf ſo narrowly eſcaped. His aſſertion is confirmed by Athanaſius, who, for reaſons of a very different nature, was not leſs an enemy to Conſtantius. (tom. 1. p. 856.) Zoſimus joins in the ſame accuſation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, uſe very qualifying expreſſions, "*ſinente* "*potius quam jubente*;" "*incertum quo ſuaſore*," "*vi militum.*" GIBBON.

† Socrates (III. 1.) ſays, that "Gallus was ſuffered to "live, becauſe, on account of his weak conſtitution, it was "thought that he could not live long; and Julian, becauſe "he was only eight years old." But in this, Socrates is not quite accurate. For Julian was not "eight," but only "five" years old: as he died in the 31ſt year of his age, in that of our Lord 363. But Conſtantine died in 337. PETAU.

Perſian

Persian war *. Such rumours, at least, were circulated among the courtiers, in the hearing of me and my late brother Cæsar Gallus, for so he was then styled. Having put him also to death, in defiance of all laws, he neither suffered him to be entombed with his ancestors, nor his memory to be honoured. But, as I said before, we were informed and convinced, that some of these crimes originated from misapprehension and misinformation, and others from the overbearing insolence and compulsion of a turbulent and mutinous army. Such reports often reached us in our confinement in a certain Cappadocian farm †, to which no one was allowed access: there we were both placed; my brother, recalled from exile; and I, almost a child, removed from school. Why should I mention those six years ‡, in which we were educated in a kind of foreign country, and as strictly guarded as if we had been in Persia, no stranger, nor

* In the reign of Constantius, Sapor vanquished the Romans in nine battles, invaded Mesopotamia, took Amida, Singara, &c.

† Ammianus (xv. 2,) relates, that "Julian was accused of "going from the farm of Macellum, in Cappadocia, into "Asia, for the sake of liberal studies, and, in his way "through Constantinople, of seeing his brother." This αγρος, or farm, he afterwards calls χωρια, and thus the Latins term a farm *possessio*. PETAU.

Mr. Gibbon, in different places, styles this farm "an "ancient palace," "a strong castle," "the residence of "the kings of Cappadocia:" "the situation," he adds, "was pleasant, the buildings stately, the inclosures spa- "cious." It was at the foot of Mount Argæus, not far from Cæsarea, the capital of the province.

‡ From 345 to 351.

any of our friends, being admitted to us; where, ſecluded from all liberal ſtudies, and debarred all intercourſe with families of rank, we were forced to aſſociate only with our domeſtics? From thence, by the aſſiſtance of the Gods, I was at length happily releaſed; but my brother was moſt unfortunately inveigled to court. If there was any thing ruſtic and uncivilifed in his deportment *, it was owing to that mountainous education. He therefore who doomed us to it is juſtly chargeable with the blame. Thanks be to the Gods, philoſophy has purified me; but this bleſſing was denied to my brother. For after he had exchanged the country for the court, and had been inveſted with the purple, he immediately became an object of envy; nor did that envy ceaſe, till, not contented with ſtripping him of the purple, it had accompliſhed his deſtruction. Yet though he might be

* This opinion of Julian concerning his brother is expreſſed by Libanius, in his panegyric on the conſulſhip of Julian, p. 234, where he mentions ſome letters, in which he, a private man, admoniſhed Gallus, then Cæſar, of his duty: "If his brother had attended to his letters, we "ſhould now have had two princes. For he who did "not reign dared to admoniſh him who did. But when "he, who might have alleged ſomething in his own de-"fence, had been put to death unheard, an inclination "appeared of preferring ſome charges againſt the other, "as if he had killed him; but that not being practicable, "his life was ſpared to be harraſſed by fatiguing journeys, "thus ſuffering, though innocent, the puniſhment due to "guilt." The diſpoſition of Gallus is alſo mentioned by Nazianzen, in his *Steliteut.* I. "Though of a paſſionate "temper, he was unaffectedly pious." PETAU.

deemed

deemed unfit to govern, ſurely he was not unworthy to live. And even allowing the expedience of depriving him of life, he ſhould not have been denied the uſual privilege of criminals, that of being heard in his own defence. The law does not forbid him who has the right of impriſoning robbers to put them alſo to death; deprived of all their honours, and reduced from a princely to a plebeian rank, it ſays, that they ſhall be executed without a trial. What if he could have produced the perſons who impeached theſe traitors *? For in ſome of their letters that were ſhewn him, heaven knows what charges were contained! Thus, incenſed by an unbecoming weakneſs, he was raſhly betrayed into paſſion. He did nothing, however, that deſerved death; but, you may ſay, that it is a rule univerſal, both among Greeks and Barbarians, that he who has received may revenge an inſult. True—yet Conſtantius revenged it too ſeverely. But he did nothing more than is uſual. "It is uſual," he once ſaid, "for an enemy, when "enraged, to go any lengths." But to gratify an

* See in Ammianus (xiv. 1. 7.) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian inſinuates that a conſpiracy had been formed againſt him; and Zoſimus names the perſons engaged in it; a miniſter of conſiderable rank, and two obſcure agents, who were reſolved to make their fortunes. GIBBON.

Julian perhaps here refers to the maſſacre at Antioch of the Imperial miniſters, Domitian and Montius, by the command of Gallus.

eunuch *, his chamberlain †, and alſo his maſter-cook, Conſtantius ſacrificed to his moſt inveterate enemies ‡ his couſin-german, the Cæſar, the huſband of his ſiſter §, the father of his niece, whoſe

ſiſter

* Euſebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with ſuch abſolute ſway, that Conſtantius, according to the ſarcaſm of an impartial hiſtorian, poſſeſſed ſome credit with his haughty favourite. *Apud quem, (ſi verè dici debeat) multa Conſtantius potuit.* Amm. xviii. 4. GIBBON.

† A favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was ſtyled the *præpoſitus*, or præfect, of the ſacred bed-chamber. His duty was to attend the Emperor in his hours of ſtate, or in thoſe of amuſement, and to perform about his perſon all thoſe menial ſervices which can only derive their ſplendor from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deſerved to reign, the great-chamberlain (for ſuch we may call him) was an uſeful and humble domeſtic; but an artful domeſtic, who improves every occaſion of unguarded confidence, will inſenſibly acquire over a feeble mind that aſcendant which harſh wiſdom and uncomplying virtue can ſeldom obtain. *Ibid.*

‡ The Emperor was eaſily convinced that his own ſafety was incompatible with the life of his couſin; the ſentence of death was ſigned, diſpatched, and executed; and the nephew of Conſtantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in priſon, like the vileſt malefactor. *Ibid.*

This event happened "near Pola in Iſtria," ſays Ammianus, "where Criſpus, the ſon of Conſtantine, was formerly killed." Near Flanona, or Flavona, in Dalmatia, (not far from Pola) ſay Socrates and Sozomen.

§ Gallus had married Conſtantia [rather Conſtantina], the daughter of Conſtantine, and ſiſter of Conſtantius. Julian mentions his having a daughter by her; and alſo that Conſtantius had before married the ſiſter of Gallus. Theſe two circumſtances, related, as far as I know, by him only, were before unknown. The firſt of theſe is deduced from this paſſage a little corrected. For ἀδελφιδῆς ("niece") ſhould evidently have been written, inſtead of ἀδελφιδοῦς ("nephew.")

ſiſter he himſelf had married, and who was connected to him by ſo many domeſtic ties. Me, not without difficulty, he diſmiſſed, after removing me to various places, and keeping me in confinement, ſeven months. And if ſome God, to inſure my ſafety, had not ingratiated me with his beautiful and excellent wife, Euſebia *, I could not have eſcaped his reſentment. Though the Gods will atteſt that my brother, when he purſued thoſe meaſures, was never ſeen by me, even in a dream; for neither was I with him, nor did I viſit him, nor was I in his neighbourhood. And when

(" nephew.") Gallus had the ſame father as Julian; his mother was Galla, the ſiſter of Rufinus and Cerealis, whom the Conſulſhip, ſays Ammianus (l. xiv.) had ennobled. Conſtantius ſeems to have married the daughter of this Galla before Euſebia, and I know not whether it was ſhe with whom Conſtantius celebrated his nuptials in the life-time, and by the management, of his father, as related by Euſebius, in his Life of Conſtantine. That Conſtantius had more wives, is affirmed by Ammianus. And Victor ſays, in his Epitome, " of his wives, of whom he had " many, he loved Euſebia moſt." Euſebia is generally mentioned as the firſt; and Fauſtina [or Fauſta] as the ſecond and laſt, by whom he had a poſthumous daughter, Conſtantia, who was married to the Emperor Gratian. PETAU.

* A woman of beauty and merit, who, by the aſcendant ſhe had gained over the mind of her huſband, counterbalanced, in ſome meaſure, the powerful conſpiracy of the eunuchs. She was a native of Theſſalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter, as well as ſiſter, of Conſuls. Her marriage with the Emperor may be placed in the year 352. In a divided age, the hiſtorians of all parties agree in her praiſes. GIBBON.

In culmine tam celſo humana, is her panegyric by Ammianus. " In ſuch an exalted ſtation not inhuman," gives an imperfect idea of it in Engliſh.

I wrote to him, which was ſeldom, my letters were ſhort. I therefore gladly took refuge in the houſe of my mother. For as to the eſtate of my father, of none of his poſſeſſions had I the leaſt ſhare, no land, nor a houſe, not a ſlave, the worthy Conſtantius having ſeized all my paternal inheritance, without giving me the mereſt trifle. Having deſpoiled Gallus of the effects of his mother, he gave him a few of his father's.

Moſt part, at leaſt, if not the whole, of his behaviour to me, before he conferred on me that moſt reſpectable name *, but in fact impoſed on me a ſevere and laborious ſlavery, you ſhall now hear. Having thus with great difficulty, and beyond my expectation, eſcaped, and being happily ſheltered under the roof of my mother, a ſycophant, from the neighbourhood of Sirmium †, falſely reported, that new commotions might be expected there. You have heard, no doubt, of Africanus and Marinus; nor can the name of Felix have eſcaped you, and what was their fate ‡. As

* Of Cæſar.

† The capital of Illyricum, at preſent Sirmiſch or Sirmick, a ſmall town, almoſt ruined, in the Lower Hungary. La Bleterie.

‡ Ammianus (xv. 3.) mentions a drunken and treaſonable entertainment at Sirmium, given by Africanus, governor of the ſecond Pannonia (A. D. 354), in conſequence of which, on the information of Gaudentius, the ſycophant here meant, all the company were arreſted. Marinus, a tribune, and the principal delinquent, ſtabbed himſelf in a tavern, on the road, at Aquileia. And the reſt were put to the torture at Milan, and afterwards impriſoned. This, doubtleſs, is the incident to which Julian alludes. A perſon named

As ſoon as Conſtantius received this intelligence, and had alſo been aſſured by Dynamius, another informer from the Gauls, that Sylvanus * would ſoon revolt againſt him; alarmed and terrified he ſent for me, and after ordering me to retire for a ſhort time into Greece, he ſuddenly recalled me. He had never ſeen me before, except once in Cappadocia, and once in Italy, at the earneſt intreaty of Euſebia, that I might be aſſured of ſafety. Yet I was ſix months in the ſame city † with him, and he promiſed to ſee me again. But that heaven-deteſted eunuch ‡, his truſty chamberlain, was ignorantly and undeſignedly my friend, by preventing my frequent acceſs. Conſtantius himſelf perhaps might not wiſh to ſee me; nevertheleſs, all my misfortunes were owing to that favourite, as he was apprehenſive, that, if we

named Felix was made maſter of the offices by Conſtantius, but rejected by Julian. And there was another who was Count of the ſacred largeſſes. But probably this Felix was one of the riotous company abovementioned.

* For an account of this revolt ſee a note in the ſucceeding page.

Οσον ωπω τω Νειλω, και εν αυτω πολεμον αναφανησθαι. This I cannot underſtand. What follows is related more at large by Ammianus and Zoſimus. See alſo *Orat.* III. "on Euſebia." PETAV.

Theſe words may be thus corrected: Οσον ωπω τον Σιλβανον αυτω πολεμιον αναφανησθαι. Zoſimus mentions the ſame Dynamius at the end of l. ii. But he is miſtaken in aſcribing to him the death of Gallus Cæſar; as Dynamius calumniated Sylvanus, not Gallus. VALOIS.

This correction is adopted by the tranſlator.

† Mediolanum, or Milan.

‡ Euſebius above-mentioned, whom Julian, when he was Emperor, put to death.

ſhould be acquainted, a friendſhip might enſue; and if my fidelity had been approved, I might have been inveſted with ſome place of truſt.

As ſoon as I returned from Greece, the bleſſed Euſebia, by the eunuchs of her houſhold, ſhewed me many acts of kindneſs. And ſoon after, on his arrival, after terminating the war with Sylvanus *, I

* In the ſummer which preceded the elevation of Julian (Sept. A. D. 355.) this general had been choſen to deliver Gaul from the tyranny of the Barbarians; but Sylvanus ſoon diſcovered that he had left his moſt dangerous enemies in the Imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by ſeveral of the principal miniſters, procured from him ſome recommendatory letters; and eraſing the whole of the contents, except the ſignature, filled up the vacant parchment with matters of high and treaſonable import. By the induſtry and courage of his friends, the fraud was, however, detected, and, in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the preſence of the Emperor himſelf, the innocence of Sylvanus was publickly acknowledged. But the diſcovery came too late; the report of the calumny, and the haſty ſeizure of his eſtate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was ſo unjuſtly accuſed. He aſſumed the purple at his head-quarters of Cologne; and his active powers appeared to menace Italy with an invaſion, and Milan with a ſiege. In this emergency, Urſicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favour which he had loſt by his eminent ſervices in the Eaſt. Exaſperated, as he might ſpeciouſly allege, by injuries of a ſimilar nature, he haſtened, with a few followers, to join the ſtandard, and to betray the confidence, of his too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylvanus was aſſaſſinated. The ſoldiers, who, without any criminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance; and the flatterers of Conſtantius celebrated the wiſdom and felicity of the monarch who had extinguiſhed a civil war without the hazard of a battle. GIBBON.

was

was allowed to go to court, induced by what is called a Theſſalian perſuaſion upon force *. For on my reſolutely declining all intercourſe with the palace, the courtiers convening, as if theyhad been in a barber's-ſhop, ſhaved my chin, and throwing over me a military mantle, transformed me, as they thought, into a very ridiculous ſoldier. For none of the finical ornaments of thoſe wretches were ſuitable to my taſte. I walked about therefore, not like them, ſtaring on every ſide, and with a haughty gait, but poring on the ground, as I had been taught by my preceptor †. This was at firſt the ſubject of their laughter, but ſoon after of their ſuſpicion, which at length gave place to envy. But I muſt not omit, that I reſided among them, and that I did not diſdain even to lodge

* This proverb, Θετταλικη πειθαναγκη, is alſo quoted by Julian, in his firſt Oration, and by Eunapius. But, as to its origin, the collectors of proverbs are ſilent. PETAU.

Spanheim ſuppoſes it to originate from the impoſtures, perfidy, and magic of the Theſſalians, which were alſo proverbial. Our Engliſh proverb, which is not unlike it, "Patience on force," has an addition, which may perhaps afford a clue; "is a medicine for a mad horſe;" the inhabitants of Theſſaly being anciently famous for their horſemanſhip. Πειθαναγκη is applied by Cicero to Cæſar, *ad Attic.* IX. 13.

† Mardonius, an eunuch, mentioned afterwards more particularly in the Miſopogon.

Julian himſelf relates, with ſome humour, the circumſtances of his own metamorphoſis, his down-caſt looks, and his perplexity at being thus ſuddenly tranſported into a new world, where every object appeared ſtrange and hoſtile. GIBBON.

with

with thoſe whom I knew to have been the aſſaſſins of all my relations, and whom I had reaſon to ſuſpect of meditating alſo my deſtruction. What floods of tears I ſhed *, and what lamentations I uttered, when, extending my hands towards your citadel †, I intreated and implored Minerva to protect her ſervant, and not to deliver him up to his enemies, many of you, who were preſent, can atteſt; and, above all, the Goddeſs herſelf knows, that I petitioned death of her at Athens in preference to that journey. That the Goddeſs did not abandon me, nor deliver me up, the event has ſhewn. On the contrary, ſhe has every where been my guide, and was conſtantly with me,

* Libanius, in his panegyrical Oration on the conſulſhip of Julian, p. 235, has taken this, and ſome other paſſages, almoſt in the ſame words, from this Epiſtle. PETAU.

† This was the temple of Minerva at Athens. The Emperor aſſigned Athens for the place of his honorable exile, which is implied in what Julian ſays above of his "ſhort retirement into Greece." He was ſent thither in May, 355, and there "ſpent ſix months amidſt the "groves of the Academy (as Mr. Gibbon expreſſes it) "far from the tumult of arms, and the treachery of "courts, in a free intercourſe with the philoſophers of "the age, who ſtudied to cultivate the genius, to en-"courage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their "royal pupil. Gregory Nazianzen was his fellow-ſtudent; "and the ſymptoms, which he ſo tragically deſcribes, of "the future wickedneſs of the apoſtate, amount only to "ſome bodily imperfections, and to ſome peculiarities in "his ſpeech and manner. He proteſts, however, that "he then foreſaw and foretold the calamities of the "church and ſtate." St. Baſil was another of his fellow-ſtudents.

borrowing

borrowing guardian-angels * from the Sun and Moon †.

What follows may be alſo worth relating. On my return to Milan, where I reſided in one of the ſuburbs, Euſebia frequently ſent me friendly meſſages, and urged me to write to her, on any ſubject, with the utmoſt confidence. This induced me to compoſe this letter, or rather petition, with an adjuration: "So may you have children and heirs, "ſo may God bleſs you with both, as you ſend "me home ‡ immediately §!" After this, I was apprehenſive of not being able to convey it ſafely

* Julian did not yield till the Gods had ſignified their will by repeated viſions and omens. His piety then forbade him to reſiſt. GIBBON.

He here declares himſelf a Pagan, which may ſerve to correct the haſty aſſertion of Ammianus, who ſuppoſes Conſtantinople to have been the place where he firſt diſcovered it. *Ibid.*

† Julian, however, ſeems to have "borrowed" theſe angels from the Chriſtian Scriptures, with which he was well acquainted. On the angels of the Sun he deſcants at large in his IVth Oration *ad Solem Regem*, and they are alſo mentioned by Iamblichus, in his Life of Pythagoras, and by Proclus on the 2d book of Heſiod.

‡ So he ſtyles Aſia Minor, where he had been educated.

§ Julian animated his army, not only by preſents, but by conſtantly ſwearing by the importance of the enterprize in which they were engaged. "So may we ſubdue the "Perſians!" "So may we repair the ſhattered Roman "world!" As Trajan is reported frequently to have confirmed what he ſaid by ſwearing, "So may I ſee Dacia re-"duced to a province!" "So may I maſter the Danube "and Euphrates with bridges!" and the like.

AMMIANUS.

into

into the palace. And therefore I beſought the Gods to inform me by night whether I ſhould ſend it to the Empreſs, or not. They threatened me, if I ſent it, with the moſt ignominious death. I appeal to all the Gods for the truth of what I aſſert. In obedience to them, I ſuppreſſed it. But from that night I imbibed an idea which it may not be improper to mention. "Now," ſaid I to myſelf, "I undertake to oppoſe the Gods, and "imagine that I can judge for myſelf better than "they who know all things. Human wiſdom, "confining its view to the preſent, may think "that it judges well, when, in ſome inſtances, "which rarely happen, it commits no miſtake. "But no one deliberates on events that will hap-"pen three hundred years hence, as that is im-"poſſible, or on occurrences that are long paſt, "that being needleſs; but only concerning objects "that are preſent, and of which the beginnings "and ſeeds, as it were, now exiſt. But the wiſ-"dom of the Gods, obſerving the moſt diſtant "events, or rather all things, always directs what "is right, and does what is beſt. As they are no "leſs the cauſe of the preſent than of the future, "muſt they not neceſſarily be acquainted with the "preſent?" Thus far then the laſt advice ſeemed to me much the moſt prudent; and viewing it in the light of juſtice, I added, "Would you not be "provoked at being defrauded of any part of your "property, or, on your requiring its attendance,

"if

" if any one of your domeſtic animals * ſhould " abſcond? And will you, who pretend to be a " man, and that not of the common, vulgar herd, " but of the rational and temperate, defraud the " Gods of your ſervice, and not ſuffer them to diſ- " poſe of you as they pleaſe? Beware leſt you act " not only fooliſhly, but contemptuouſly, with re- " gard to the divine laws. What occaſion is here " for fortitude? The pretence is ridiculous. Will " you then condeſcend to cringe and flatter, in " order to preſerve your life, inſtead of removing " every obſtacle, and allowing the Gods to act as " they pleaſe; dividing your ſolicitude for yourſelf " with them †, as was the wiſh of Socrates; com- " mitting every thing to them, poſſeſſing and " uſurping nothing, but chearfully accepting " whatever they beſtow?" Thinking this advice moſt ſafe and prudent, as it was ſuggeſted by the Gods (for by avoiding preſent evils to expoſe myſelf to future dangers ſeemed the utmoſt raſhneſs), I deſiſted and obeyed. Immediately I was honoured with the title, and inveſted with the robe ‡, of Cæſar.

* In the original, και ιππος, και προβατον, και βοιδιον, (" a " horſe, a ſheep, or a heifer.")

† Διελομενον προς αυτους [τους Θεους] την επιμελειαν την εαυτου. This language Julian perhaps rather learned from Chriſtianity: Πασαν την μεριμναν υμων επιρριψαντες επ' αυτον [τον Θεον] κ. τ. λ. *Caſting all your care upon him*, &c. 1 Peter, v. 7.

‡ Ammianus, xv. 8. " Saying this, he thus accoſts Julian, " ſoon after he had been arrayed with the purple, and de- " clared Cæſar, to the great joy of the army, but ſome- " what dejected, and with his brow contracted." He means there-

Cæsar. Of this slavery was the consequence, and every day, how great, O Hercules, was my apprehension, how imminent my danger! Barred gates, guards, servants searched, lest they should convey letters from my friends, and a strange household! I was with difficulty allowed to bring with me to court, as my personal attendants, four domestics, two of whom were boys; and of the two others one only, my librarian *, from conscientious motives, was privately, to the utmost of his power, my assistant. The other, who of my many friends and companions alone was faithful, was my physician †. Not being known to be also my friend, he was

therefore the purple which was common both to the Cæsar and the Augustus. PETAU.

After the investiture of the Cæsar had been performed, the two princes returned to the palace in the same chariot; and during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears:

Ελλαβε πορφυρεος θανατος, και μοιρα κραταιη. Il. v. 83.

——— the *purple* hand of death
Clos'd his dim eyes, and fate suppress'd his breath.
POPE, 108.

The word "purple," which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions. GIBBON.

* Enemerus. He was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the Empress, who studied the inclinations, as well as the interest, of her friend. *Ibid.*

† Oribasius. See the first note on Epistle XVII. which is addressed to him in confidence. The elogium of "singular fidelity" is applied by the Latin translator to the librarian. The original, I think, warrants my applying it, as is more probable, to the physician.

my

my fellow-traveller. Such were my fears and apprehenſions, that the viſits which were offered me by many of my friends, whom I much wiſhed to ſee, I choſe to decline, leſt I ſhould involve them in my misfortunes *. But this, though connected with my ſubject, is rather foreign to it.

With three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers Conſtantius ſent me into Gaul, which was then in confuſion, in the middle of winter †, not ſo much to command his armies there, as to be ſubordinate to his generals. For they had expreſs orders to be as much on their guard againſt me as againſt the enemy, leſt I ſhould attempt any innovations. Every thing being thus ſettled, about the ſummer ſolſtice ‡ he allowed me to join the army, bearing his

* Julian repreſents, in the moſt pathetic terms, the diſtreſs of his new ſituation. The proviſion of his table was, however, ſo elegant and ſumptuous, that the young philoſopher rejected it with diſdain. Amm. XVI. 5. GIBBON.

† Libanius, in his panegyric on the conſulſhip of Julian, ſays the ſame, viz. that "leſs than four hundred ſoldiers "were given him, in the depth of winter;" and what follows he has tranſcribed, as has before been obſerved, from this Epiſtle. Ammianus (XV. 8.) ſays, that "Julian was "declared Cæſar on the 6th of November [355]; ſoon after "Helena was given him in marriage; and on De-"cember 1, he ſet out for Gaul." Marcellus and Salluſt were ſent with him, and to them all the management of the province and of the war was entruſted, leſt Julian ſhould attempt any innovations. PETAV.

‡ I cannot agree with the learned [Latin] tranſlator, who, for "ſummer," affirms we ſhould read "winter ſolſtice." For this paſſage is not to be underſtood of that year, towards the end of which Julian was ſent into the Gauls; but of the ſubſequent year, when he entered on his firſt conſulſhip with

his robe and image. For he had both said and written, that "he did not mean to give the Gauls "a king, but one who should exhibit to them his "dress * and image."

The first campaign, as you have heard, having been ill-conducted †, and no advantage gained, at my return into winter-quarters, I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I had not the power of assembling the troops; this was entrusted to another, and a few only were quartered with me. My assistance being requested by the neighbouring towns, after sending them most of my forces, I had

with Constantius; which was the year of Christ 356. At the summer solstice the Gallic soldiers used to set out on expeditions. VALOIS.

* Σχημα, not ὄχημα ("carriage") the common reading. *Ibid.*

† Julian was made Cæsar in the consulship of Arbetio and Lollian, A. D. 355. Towards the end of that year, [as above mentioned], he was sent into Gaul, and wintered at Vienne, where he entered on his first consulship, with Constantius (the 8th time) for his collegue, at the beginning of the year 356, which was the first year of his Gallic government. This campaign, Julian complains, was unsuccessful, and that no advantages were gained. But if we refer to Ammianus, we shall find that less indeed than accorded with the inclination and impetuosity of Julian, yet much, nevertheless, was done against the Barbarians. While he was at Vienne, hearing that the Germans were making incursions in order to ravage Gaul, and had with difficulty been repulsed at Augustodunum [Autun] he determined to pursue them. After defeating and dispersing them, he recovered Colonia Agrippina [Cologne]. And he so terrified the kings of the Franks, that he compelled them to make peace. "Rejoicing" (adds Ammianus) "at these first fruits of conquest, he went into "winter-quarters at Treves, a then convenient town of

had ſcarce any left *. So affairs were circumſtanced. But the general in chief †, having in-

"[the Senones." I ſuſpect therefore that Julian wrote [ου] κακως δε, ως ακηκοαλε, ["not] ill conducted, as you have "heard;") and, ſoon after, πραχθεντος [τινος] σπεδκιε, ("and "[ſome] advantage gained.") But wintering at Sens, with a few ſoldiers, the enemy aſſembled on a ſudden, and beſieged the town; and Marcellus, maſter-general of the cavalry, who commanded in the next cantonment, neglected and refuſed to aſſiſt him. Yet in twenty days the Barbarians raiſed the ſiege, and retired. This we collect from Ammianus xvi. 4. PETAU.

Ammianus appears much better ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of this firſt campaign than Julian himſelf; who very frankly owns that he did nothing of conſequence, and that he fled before the enemy. GIBBON.

* In the original, αυλος απελειφθην μονος, "I was left "alone."

† As ſoon as Conſtantius heard how perfidiouſly Marcellus had acted at Sens, "abſolving him from his military "oath" (theſe are the words of Ammianus) "he ordered "him to retire to his own houſe; and he, as if he had been "grievouſly injured, plotted ſomething againſt Julian, "truſting that the ears of Auguſtus would be open to every "charge." But the eunuch Eutherius, the moſt faithful præfect of his chamber, being diſpatched by Julian, refuted this calumny. This Marcellus was a native of Serdica, whither, when he was diſplaced, he retired. So ſays Ammianus, as I have corrected him. The common reading is neither perfect, nor conveys that ſenſe. For, after a long digreſſion, ariſing from the eunuch Eutherius, on the wickedneſs of the eunuchs, Ammianus, returning to Marcellus, expreſſes himſelf thus: *Nunc redeam unde diverti. Superato, ut dixi, Marcello*, everſâque Serdicâ, *unde oriebatur*, &c. Read *reverſoque Serdicam*. PETAU.

The ſon of this Marcellus aſpiring to the empire was put to death by Julian in 361. Libanius ſpeaks rather more advantageouſly of the military talents of Marcellus. And Julian intimates [above] that he would not ſo eaſily have been recalled, unleſs he had given other reaſons of offence to the court. GIBBON.

curred the diſpleaſure of the Emperor, was ſuperſeded and diſmiſſed, for inability; and, becauſe I had acted with clemency and moderation, my talents and abilities were not deemed equal to the command. For I thought it by no means right to ſtruggle with my yoke, or officiouſly to aſſume the general *, by obtruding my advice, unleſs when I ſaw ſomething hazardous attempted, that I thought ſhould have been omitted, or neglected, that ſhould have been done. But having more than once received ſome [im]proper † treatment, I determined for the future to be ſilent, and contented myſelf with the pageantry of the robe and image. For to that I thought I had a right.

Conſtantius imagining that the Gallic affairs would ſoon wear a better aſpect, not indeed that the alteration would be ſo great, gave me the command of the armies ‡ in the beginning of ſpring. As ſoon

* Ζυγομαχειν, ουδε παραστρατηγειν.

† Καθηκοντως ("properly") in the original. Ου ("not") ſeems neceſſary to be prefixed, implying, that he afterwards was quiet, becauſe he had once or twice been treated ill. PETAU.

‡ When Julian was appointed general, and what was the nature of his commiſſion, deſerves enquiry. He himſelf ſays, that it happened after Marcellus was diſmiſſed, and ſent to Serdica. But he alſo mentions, that, after he obtained this command, he rebuilt Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) and another town, Tabernæ, with ſome other towns of Gaul, to the number of forty-five, recovered from the Barbarians. Very different is the account given by Ammianus. For he affirms, that Julian recovered Colonia before the end of the firſt year of his being in Gaul, that is, in the conſulſhip of Conſtantius (the 8th time) and Julian,

ſoon as the corn was ripe, I took the field, many of the Germans dwelling ſecurely near the towns that they had deſtroyed in the Gauls. There were forty-

Julian, of our Lord 356, before Marcellus was commiſſioned by Conſtantius, which happened towards the end of the ſame, or the commencement of the enſuing, year. Marcellus was ſucceeded by Severus, a man well verſed in the art of war, good-natured, and unaſſuming; at the acquiſition of whom Julian expreſſed much pleaſure, and declared "that he would obey his able directions," (ſays Ammianus), "as a ſoldier ſhould an [obliging] leader." The ſenſe requires *morigerus*. Barbatio alſo was ſent with him, who was to attack the Barbarians in another quarter with twenty-five thouſand men. He was maſter-general of the foot, and Severus of the horſe, as Ammianus informs us, l. XVI. But if we compare the words of Julian with the hiſtory of Ammianus, we ſhall find, that the command of the army was given him in the ſecond year of his being in the Gauls, viz. A. D. 357, when he engaged the Alemanni and king Cnodomar," after the corn was ripe." For in that year he acted as general, at leaſt, of that army which Severus had commanded. And ſo far was Barbatio, who commanded the other, from obeying him, that he neglected and refuſed to aſſiſt him, when he was in danger. Therefore his ſaying, "he gave me the command "of the armies," I do not think true of them all. Nor ſhould it be omitted, that, even in the firſt year, when Marcellus was ſtill in Gaul, the Cæſar Julian was not ſo obnoxious to the generals as not to be entruſted with ſome command. For Ammianus relates (XVI.) that, in that year, which was 356 of Chriſt, when Julian went to Rheims, "he ordered the army to be collected in one body," in order to diſguiſe his force; "which army was then com-"manded by Marcellus, the ſucceſſor of Urſicinus;" and alſo that Urſicinus himſelf was ordered to wait in the ſame place the event of that expedition. But though he had the title of governing the province, and managing the war, yet the maſters-general of the forces, as Conſtantius had ordered, did not implicitly obey him, but in general, were refractory. Add, that Julian here oratorically depreſſes

forty-five ſuch towns that were diſmantled *, beſides villages and ſmaller fortifications. The Barbarians then poſſeſſed all the territory on this ſide of the Rhine, from its ſources to the ocean. Thoſe who were the neareſt to us were three hundred ſtadia † diſtant from its banks. A diſtrict thrice as extenſive was left a deſert by their devaſtations, where the Gauls could not paſture their cattle. Some towns were alſo deſerted by their inhabitants, though the Barbarians had not yet approached them. Finding Gaul thus diſtreſſed, I recovered the city of Agrippina [Cologne] on the Rhine, which had been taken about ten months before, and alſo the neighbouring caſtle of Argentoratum [Straſburgh] near the foot of Voſegus ‡; and we

his ſituation below the truth, as if he had then no other employment than carrying about the Imperial image. Zoſimus ſays, (l. III.) that "Conſtantius permitted Julian, "at his departure, to regulate the Gauls as he ſhould "think expedient." This Conſtantius ſeems to have done openly; but privately he ordered his præfects to watch all his words and actions, and ſometimes to obey perverſely. See the Oration of Libanius on the conſulſhip of Julian.

PETAU.

* Zoſimus (l. III.) ſays, that "forty towns in Gaul, "which the Barbarians had deſtroyed, were rebuilt by "Julian." And he alſo mentions, how much they had overrun Gaul. Libanius enumerates as many as Julian, taking all that hiſtory from this Epiſtle. *Ibid.*

† Near forty miles.

‡ One of the principal mountains in Gaul, now Mount Vauge, which ſeparates Burgundy from Lorrain, and alſo divides Lorrain from Alſace, ſtretching towards the north. It gives riſe to the rivers Maeſe, Moſelle, and Sar.

CLUVIER.

fought not inglorioufly *. Of this battle, no doubt, you have heard †. The Gods then giving me the captive king of the enemy ‡, I did not envy Conſtantius the glory of the action. Though I was not allowed to triumph, I had it in my power to have ſlain my enemy, nor could I have been prevented leading him through Gaul, expoſing him in the towns, and thus inſulting the misfortunes of Cnodomar. None of theſe meaſures, however, I approved, but immediately ſent him to Conſtantius, who was then juſt returned from the Quadian and Sarmatian war §. While I was fighting, he was travelling alone, and holding an ami-

* Και ειμαχεσαμην ως' ακλεως. The very words of Horace, on a different and leſs glorious warfare, l. III. ode 26.
Et militavi non ſine gloriâ.

† Julian himſelf ſpeaks of the battle of Straſburgh with the modeſty of conſcious merit. Zoſimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loſs to diſcover any of thoſe ſtrokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and ſucceſs of a ſingle day. GIBBON.

‡ Meaning Cnodomar, who, in his flight, falling from his horſe into a moraſs, and being taken priſoner, was ſent to Conſtantius. See Ammianus (l. XVI. 12.) "Six thouſand "of the Germans," he ſays, "were killed in this battle, "beſides thoſe that were drowned, and only two hundred "and forty-three of the Romans." PETAU.

§ The events of this war are related by Ammianus, (XVI. 10. XVII. 12, 13. XIX. 11.) The Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, were reduced to ſue for peace; and the Sarmatian exiles, who had been expelled from the country by the rebellion of their ſlaves, were reinſtated. Conſtantius, after this ſucceſs, received the name of Sarmaticus. GIBBON.

cable intercourſe with the nations that border on the Danube. Yet not I, but he, triumphed *.

Another year ſucceeded, and a third, in which all the Barbarians were driven out of Gaul, moſt of the towns were rebuilt, and many loaded veſſels arrived from Britain. Having collected a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips †, four hundred of which I had cauſed to be built in leſs than ten months, I brought them all into the Rhine; no eaſy taſk, on account of the irruptions and neighbourhood of the Barbarians. This had ſeemed ſo

* Conſtantius, though he was forty days journey diſtant, arrogated to himſelf the glory of this victory, deſcribing the battle, as if he had been preſent, in letters crowned with laurel, which he ſent to the provinces, and never mentioning the name of Julian. AMMIANUS.

† Zoſimus reckons eight hundred, which, he ſays, were built of materials found on the banks of the Rhine; that they might ſail to Britain, and bring back corn and proviſions to ſupply the garriſons. I know not that Ammianus mentions ſo many ſhips being built. He ſays, indeed, in his XVIIIth book, that Julian fortified the towns that had been deſtroyed by the Barbarians, and built granaries in the room of thoſe which were burnt, where the proviſions accuſtomed to be brought from Britain might be lodged. PETAU.

If we compute the ſix hundred corn-ſhips at only ſeventy tons each, they were capable of exporting a hundred and twenty thouſand quarters (ſee Arbuthnot's "Weights and Meaſures"); and the country, which could bear ſo large an exportation, muſt already have attained an improved ſtate of agriculture. Theſe barks were framed in the foreſt of the Ardennes. GIBBON.

Some of theſe veſſels, as appears from Ammianus, muſt have been freighted with proviſions, as well as with corn, which would reduce the quantity of the latter.

imprac-

impracticable to Florentius *, that he had agreed to give two thousand pounds weight of silver † to permit a free passage. Constantius, on being informed of this (for they corresponded concerning this proposed present), expressly ordered me to agree to it, unless I thought it absolutely disgraceful. But how could I possibly think otherwise, when it seemed so to Constantius himself, though he was always very obsequious to the Barbarians? No payment therefore was made; but marching against them, the Gods being present and propitious, I surprised part of the Salians ‡, I reduced the Chamavians ‡, and took great numbers of cattle,

* Prætorian Præfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, a crafty and corrupt statesman, incapable of pity or remorse. GIBBON.

† Five *aurei* (somewhat more than eleven shillings each) were the legal tender for a pound of silver. GREAVES.

Consequently two thousand pounds of silver would amount to 5500l. sterling.

‡ Ammianus (XVII. 8.) relates, that, in the year when Datianus and Cerealis were consuls, Julian undertook an expedition against the Salian Franks, who had formerly settled near Toxandria [from the neighbourhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine] whom, terrified at his sudden approach, he forced to surrender. Afterwards, he subdued the Chamavians [a people near Munster]. Treating the Salians with lenity, he marched against the Quadi, whom, on account of their notorious robberies, he justly destroyed. And then happened that remarkable story of the king of the Chamavians, which is related by Eunapius, and more briefly by Zosimus. PETAU.

See it also in the Abbé de la Bleterie's *Vie de Julien*, p. 82—4. and in Mr. Gibbon's Roman History, II. p. 171.

cattle, with many women and children. This irruption ſo much alarmed the Barbarians, that hoſtages were immediately ſent me, and the free importation of corn was ſecured.

To relate every circumſtance would be tedious. In ſhort, thrice, while I was Cæſar *, I paſſed the

This difference of treatment confirms the opinion, that the Salian Franks were permitted to retain the ſettlements in Toxandria. GIBBON.

It is pretended, that the name of Toxandria is ſtill preſerved in a village, in the territory of Liege, called Teſſender-loo. LA BLETERIE.

* In the years 356, 358, and 359. Ammianus treats eloquently of the two latter. The firſt he does not mention; but it may be inferred from what he ſays in his xvith book, where, relating the actions of the year 357, he ſays, that what chiefly induced Julian to give battle to the Germans and Cnodomar was, that "in the year juſt "ended, the Romans making large incurſions beyond the "Rhine, no one appeared in defence of his own home, "nor ſtood his ground; but the Barbarians, removing to "a diſtance, ſubſiſted with difficulty, blockading all the "roads with trunks of trees, during the inclemency of "winter." Which words mean, that Julian made war on the Germans beyond the Rhine in the year above-mentioned, and therefore at the approach of winter. And this happened at the time when he recovered Agrippina [Cologne]. PETAU.

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany. He aſpired to emulate the glory of the firſt and moſt illuſtrious of the Emperors; after whoſe example, he compoſed his own Commentaries of the Gallic war. Cæſar has related, with conſcious pride, the manner in which he twice paſſed the Rhine. Julian could boaſt, that, before he aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, he had carried the Roman eagles beyond that great river in three ſucceſsful expeditions. GIBBON.

Rhine.

Rhine. Twenty thousand captives * I rescued from the enemy on the other side of that river. In two battles and one siege, I took a thousand prisoners, and those not of a useless age, but men in the prime of life. Four bands of the most chosen † foot I sent to Constantius, with three others, not inferior, of horse, and two most distinguished cohorts. I now, such was the will of the Gods! took all the towns: before, I had taken near forty. I invoke Jupiter, and all the tutelar Gods of cities and of nations, to attest my attachment and fidelity to him. I have acted towards him as I would wish a son of my own to act towards me. The respect that I shewed him exceeded that of any former Cæsar to any other Emperor. I may boldly dare him therefore to allege any thing against me, even to the present moment, on that head. Some ridiculous pretences he has invented. "He has de-"tained," says my adversary, "Lupicinus ‡, and

* He meant, no doubt, in different campaigns. LA BLETERIE.

Zosimus relates the whole transaction at large. See *Legationum excerpta ex Eunapio.* PETAU.

† What one of our modern generals calls "the *elite* of "the army." But why "the *flower* of the army" should not sound as well, or why our brave garrison of Gibraltar should not make "*fallies*" as well as "*sorties*," &c. is difficult to conceive. These military Gallicisms were ridiculed long ago with great humour in the Tatler.

‡ This Lupicinus, master-general of the cavalry, on the death of Severus, was gone to Britain at the time when Julian was made Emperor by the army; but as he was of a haughty and enterprising spirit, lest he should take any steps against the new Emperor, a notary was dispatched to Bononia [Boulogne] to observe that coast. AMMIANUS.

"three

" three * others." And ſuppoſing I had even put them to death, traitors and conſpirators as they were, it ſtill would have become him to have ſmothered the reſentment which their ſufferings might have excited, for the ſake of friendſhip and union. Theſe men, not in the leaſt hurt, I ſecured as dangerous diſturbers of the public peace, and though I expended upon them much of the public treaſure, I plundered them of nothing. But what would have been their puniſhment, if Conſtantius had been injured, and inflicted it? And does not he, by his reſentment againſt me, on account of theſe men, who bear not the leaſt relation to him, arraign and deride my folly, in having been ſo obſequiouſly attentive to the aſſaſſin of my father, of my couſins, and, in a word, the executioner of my whole family and kindred? Conſider alſo the deference that I have paid him ever ſince I became Emperor; as appears from my letters.

How I behaved to him before that time, I will now inform you. Being ſenſible that I ſhould incur the whole danger and diſgrace of every fault, though committed by others, I intreated him, that, if he had determined to declare me Cæſar, he would give me the beſt and ableſt counſellors. Inſtead of which, he gave me at firſt the vileſt. When one of them, the moſt abandoned of all,

* Of the other three nothing certain can be affirmed. Florentius ſeems to have been one of them, who, Ammianus

all *, * * * * † he liſtened indeed very readily, and gave me with reluctance an excellent officer in Salluſt ‡. On account of his virtue, he ſoon became invidious. But not being ſatisfied with him alone, and obſerving the different manner in which Conſtantius treated the others, confiding in them, and not regarding him, embracing his right hand and his knees, "Though I am not acquainted," ſaid I, "or ever was, with any one of theſe, yet "knowing them by report, and in deference to "you, I will conſider them as my friends, and "eſteem them as old acquaintance. It is not "proper, however, that my affairs ſhould be con-"fided to them, or that theirs ſhould be embroiled "by mine. I requeſt you, therefore, to direct me, "by ſome written rules §, what you would wiſh

anus ſays, at the very beginning of Julian's government fled from Vienne, where he then was, to Conſtantius. Julian "leaving his family and effects untouched, and al-"lowing him the uſe of a public carriage, ordered him to "return in ſafety into the Eaſt." PETAU.

If Florentius fled to Conſtantius, how could he be one that was "detained by Julian?"

* Meaning Marcellus, of whom above. *Ibid.*

† Imperfect.

‡ We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent miniſter, whom Julian afterwards created Præfect of Gaul. GIBBON.

§ When Julian was ſetting out, Conſtantius gave him a letter, in which he not only preſcribed rules for his conduct, but alſo limited his diet, and the amount of his daily expences. Ammianus, l. xvi. 5. "Laſtly, as he conſtantly "peruſed the letter, which Conſtantius, as if he had been "ſending a ſon-in-law to ſchool, had written with his own "hand, regulating, with too much freedom, what ſhould "be expended on the Cæſar's table," &c. PETAU.

"me

" me to avoid, and what to do. Then, with the " utmoſt reaſon, you will praiſe me if I obey, " and puniſh me if I tranſgreſs. But I am firmly " of opinion, that I ſhall in no inſtance controvert " your commands."

The innovations that Pentadius immediately attempted *, it is needleſs to mention. I oppoſed them all conſequently he became my enemy. Soon after, by perverting another, and then a ſecond, and a third, and by bribing againſt me Paul † and Gaudentius ‡, notorious ſlanderers, he ſucceeded in having Salluſt, who was my friend §, recalled, and Lucian immediately appointed to ſucceed him. Florentius alſo was irritated by my oppoſing his in-

* At his complaining of Pentadius I am much ſurpriſed. For Ammianus mentions Pentadius (l. xx.) and ſays, that " he was maſter of the offices to Julian, and " was ſent by him, when he was made Emperor, to Con- " ſtantius, with Eutherius, his chief chamberlain." He cannot therefore be the ſame, who, Julian here ſays, was his enemy while he was Cæſar. PETAU.

† Paul was a notary, born in Spain, famous for cruel informations under Conſtantius, who was burnt alive, with Apodemus, when Julian was Emperor. See Ammianus, (l. xix. and xxii.) *Ibid.*

‡ Gaudentius alſo was a notary, and having been ſent into the Gauls as a ſpy on the actions of Julian, was afterwards put to death by him at Antioch. Ammianus, (l. xxii.) *Ibid.*

Their executions [thoſe of the two former] were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of ſo many hundred Romans, whom thoſe legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. GIBBON.

As to Gaudentius, ſee the third note on Epiſtle X.

§ See the Conſolatory Oration on his departure, p. 30, &c.

ſatiable

ſatiable avarice *. They therefore perſuaded Conſtantius, already perhaps jealous of my actions, to remove me from the command of the forces. And he wrote letters filled with invectives againſt me, and threatening deſtruction to the Gauls. Soon after, it appeared that he had ordered all the flower of the army, without exception, to be withdrawn from Gaul, charging Lupicinus and Gintonius † with this commiſſion, and commanding me in no reſpect to oppoſe them.

In what words ſhall I now relate the works of the Gods? It was my intention, they can witneſs, diveſting myſelf of all regal ſtate and magnificence, to reſt in peace, and never more to act in public. I only waited the return of Florentius and Lupi-

* See Epiſtle XVII.

† "Sintula, then tribune of the ſtables to the Cæſar," ſays Ammianus, (l. xx. 4.) "was joined in commiſſion "with Decentius, a tribune and notary, to conduct the "troops out of the Gauls." Of Gintonius I do not remember to have read. But of this hiſtory ſee more in Ammianus and Zoſimus, and alſo in the Oration of Libanius on the conſulſhip of Julian. PETAU.

Julian was ſurpriſed by the haſty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with poſitive orders from the Emperor, which they were directed to execute, and he was commanded not to oppoſe; that four entire legions, the Celtæ, the Petulants, the Heruli, and the Batavians, ſhould be ſeparated from the ſtandard of Julian; that, in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the braveſt youths ſhould be ſelected; and that this numerous detachment, the ſtrength of the Gallic army, ſhould inſtantly begin their march, and exert their utmoſt diligence to arrive, before the opening the campaign, on the frontiers of Perſia. GIBBON.

cinus,

cinus, the one being in Britain *, and the other at Vienne. In the mean time, a great diſturbance was raiſed among the natives and ſoldiers, an anonymous libel being diſperſed in a neighbouring town, among the Petulants and the Celts (the legions ſo named) filled with invectives againſt Conſtantius, and with complaints of his having betrayed the Gauls. And the author of that paper no leſs lamented my diſgrace. This being circulated, a general diſaffection enſued, and thoſe who were moſt in the intereſt of Conſtantius uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade me to detach the troops as ſoon as poſſible, before the like libels were diſperſed among the reſt of the army. (Not one of my friends was then preſent). They were Nebridius †, Pentadius, and Decentius ‡, the latter

* Ammianus (l. xx. 1.) The valour of Lupicinus, and his military ſkill, are acknowledged by the hiſtorian, who, in his affected language, accuſes the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was ſo ſerious, that Julian himſelf had ſome thoughts of paſſing over into the iſland.

GIBBON.

† Prætorian Præfect. This faithful miniſter ſingly oppoſed the ſolemn engagement of the troops to devote themſelves to the ſervice of Julian. Alone and unaſſiſted, he aſſerted the rights of Conſtantius in the midſt of an armed and angry multitude, to whoſe fury he had almoſt fallen an honourable, but uſeleſs, ſacrifice. After loſing one of his hands by the ſtroke of a ſword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the Præfect with his imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, diſmiſſed him to his own houſe, with

latter of whom Conſtantius had diſpatched for that purpoſe. My reply, that " we ought to " wait for Lupicinus and Florentius," was totally diſregarded, they all inſiſting that the oppoſite plan ſhould be purſued, unleſs I meant to confirm and corroborate former ſuſpicions. " Beſides," they added, " the detaching the troops will now be " deemed your meaſure; but when thoſe miniſters " return, Conſtantius will impute it not to you, " but to them, and conſequently will reprobate " your conduct." Thus I was perſuaded, or rather compelled, to write to him. For he may be ſaid to act by perſuaſion, who has the liberty of refuſing; but thoſe who can be compelled it is needleſs to perſuade; as they act not by choice, but neceſſity. There being two roads, it was next debated which ſhould be taken. I propoſed one;

with leſs reſpect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy. The high office of Nebridius was beſtowed on Salluſt. *Ibid.*

Nebridius had before been Count of the Eaſt, and, from being quæſtor to Julian, was made by Conſtantius præfect of the Gauls, in the room of Florentius, who had been removed to the præfecture of Illyricum. Florentius refuſed to return from Vienne, dreading the reſentment of the army. Nebridius retired in a private ſtation into his native country, Tuſcany. Pentadius is mentioned above.

‡ There is ſome corruption in this paſſage, for neither were they abſent, nor friends to Julian. On the contrary, they adhered to Conſtantius. PETAU.

The preſent reading may be ſupported either by omitting the preceding paragraph, or by putting it (as in the tranſlation) into a parentheſis. " Nebridius, &c." will then refer to the friends before mentioned, of Conſtantius, as they certainly were.

but they compelled me to adopt * the other; leſt my oppoſition ſhould excite ſome tumult and diſorder in the army; and when a diſturbance was once begun, a general confuſion might enſue. An apprehenſion this, which ſeemed by no means groundleſs. The legions approached: I, as uſual †, went out of the city to meet them, and urged them to purſue their march. They halted one day; till when I was a ſtranger to what they had been concerting. Jupiter, the Sun, Mars, Minerva, and all the Gods know ‡, that I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their intentions till the evening of that day, when at ſun-ſet they were diſcloſed to me §. [At midnight] on a ſudden the pa-

* Through Paris. Julian honeſtly and judiciouſly ſuggeſted the danger and temptation of a laſt interview of the ſoldiers with their wives and children. GIBBON.

† Even the Emperors themſelves uſed to meet the legions by way of honour. VALOIS.

‡ Such an oath would be deciſive in the mouth of a Pagan, convinced of his falſe religion even to fanaticiſm and enthuſiaſm, as Julian was, if Julian had not given ſome proofs of duplicity. But when a man is capable of being of two religions at the ſame time, of believing one and profeſſing the other, he may well allow himſelf in perjury. Be that as it may, it muſt be owned, that if that prince moved the ſprings which raiſed him to the ſupreme power, he concealed his play ſo well, as to ſeem to owe all to chance, and nothing to intrigue. LA BLETERIE.

It may ſeem ungenerous to diſtruſt the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philoſopher. The devout Abbé de la Bleterie is almoſt inclined to reſpect the devout proteſtations of a Pagan. GIBBON.

§ He then reſigned himſelf to a ſhort ſlumber; and afterwards related to his friends, that he had ſeen the Genius of the empire waiting with ſome impatience at his door, preſſing for admittance, and reproaching his want of ſpirit and ambition. *Ibid.*

lace

lace * was inveſted, and an univerſal ſhout was raiſed, while in the mean time I was deliberating what meaſures to purſue, but without forming any determination. Though my wife was then living †, I happened to ſleep alone, in an adjoining upper chamber ‡, from which, there being an opening in the wall, I paid my adoration to Jupiter. The clamour increaſing, and a general tumult prevailing throughout the palace, I intreated that God to give

* Moſt probably the palace of the baths (*thermarum*), of which a ſolid and lofty hall ſtill ſubſiſts in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a conſiderable ſpace of the modern quarter of the univerſity; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins, whoſe dark receſſes were the ſcene of licentious love. GIBBON.

Theſe remains, which have all the marks of antiquity, are the greateſt curioſity in Paris. They are incloſed in a houſe, whoſe ſign is the iron croſs. Our kings of the firſt race reſided in that palace. The daughters of Charlemagne were confined there after his death, when Lewis the Debonnair, a friend to full chant, but an enemy to gallantry, had cauſed their lovers to be put to death. "He "thought, without doubt," ſays F. Daniel, with great ſimplicity, "that the example would intimidate, and that "they would have no more. He was, it ſeems, miſtaken; "they were never without them." *Tableau de Paris, ch.* Antiquities.

† Helena died ſoon after, at Vienne, ſays Ammianus, (l. XXI.); others ſay, in the palace of Julian, and was buried near her ſiſter Conſtantina, at Rome.

Her pregnancy had been ſeveral times fruitleſs, and was at laſt fatal to herſelf. GIBBON.

‡ From Mr. King's very ingenious "Obſervations on "Ancient Caſtles," p. 5, &c. we learn, that "the ſtate-"apartments (which Julian, no doubt, then occupied) were

give me a ſign. This he immediately ſhewed me, commanding me firmly to confide in it, and not oppoſe the reſolution of the army *. Though I had received theſe omens, I did not, however, yield without reluctance, but reſiſted as much as poſſible, nor would I admit of the ſalutation, or the diadem. But not being able ſingly to oppoſe ſo many, and the Gods, whoſe will it was, ſtrongly animating them, and at the ſame time, compoſing my ſpirits, at length, about the third hour, ſome ſoldier, I know not whom, giving me a collar †, I put it on, and then re-entered the palace, groaning, as the Gods can witneſs, from the bottom of my heart; for though the confidence which the former ſign had given me in God could not but inſpire

" always in the third ſtory, an habitation both ſtately and " airy, free from the annoyance of the enemy's inſtruments " of war."

The windows alſo of theſe rooms, even in our cold climate, though highly ornamented, " appear to have had " no glaſs, and to have been fenced only with iron bars " and wooden ſhutters, as is known to have been the " uſage in early times." *Sequel to the Obſervations on Ancient Caſtles*, p. 108.

That the Jews, as well as Pagans, prayed " with their " windows open," appears from this paſſage of Daniel, vi. 10. *He went into his houſe, and* his windows being open *in his chamber toward Jeruſalem, he kneeled upon his knees*, &c.

* The conduct, which diſclaims the ordinary maxims of reaſon, excites ſuſpicion, and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, at once ſo credulous and ſo crafty, has inſinuated itſelf into a noble mind, it inſenſibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

GIBBON.

† Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of ſuperſtitious ceremony, and obſtinately refuſed the

inſpire me with fortitude, I was aſhamed and abaſhed at not ſeeming to obey Conſtantius faithfully to the laſt.

A great dejection prevailing in the palace, the friends of Conſtantius endeavoured to improve that opportunity of forming a conſpiracy againſt me, and diſtributed money among the ſoldiers, hoping to alienate ſome of them, ſo at leaſt as to make a diviſion between us, if not to perſuade them openly to attack me. One of the officers who attended my wife in public *, hearing what they were clandeſtinely tranſacting, diſcloſed it to me. But finding that I diſregarded it, with the frenzy of an enthuſiaſt, he loudly exclaimed in the market-place, "Soldiers, foreigners, and natives, do not "betray the Emperor." The minds of the troops being thus inflamed, they all ran armed to the palace. Finding me there alive and unhurt, and rejoicing like friends who meet unexpectedly, they embraced me, claſped me in their arms, and bore me on their ſhoulders. It was indeed a moſt pleaſing ſight, ſeeming like inſpiration. Surrounding me on all ſides, they then inſiſted that every friend of Conſtantius ſhould be put to death. The ſtrenu-

the inauſpicious uſe of a female necklace, or a horſe's collar (*equi phaleræ*), which the impatient ſoldiers would have employed inſtead of a diadem. - GIBBON.

The collar which he put on, enriched with jewels, belonged, ſays Ammianus, to "one Maurus, afterwards a "Count, then a ſpearman of the Petulants." This event happened in April, 360.

* Ammianus ſtyles him *aliquis palatii decurio*, a kind of lictor.

ous endeavours that I uſed to ſave them, all the Gods know. After this, what was my conduct towards Conſtantius? In my letters * to him, even to the preſent hour, I have never aſſumed the title which the Gods have given me, only ſtyling myſelf Cæſar; and I prevailed on the ſoldiers to ſwear to me, that they would attempt nothing farther, if he would ſuffer me to dwell peaceably in the Gauls, and ratify all that had been done. Add to this, the legions that were with me ſent him an united letter, urging a reconciliation between us. In return, he ſpirited the Barbarians againſt us, proclaimed me to them as a public enemy, and bribed them to ravage the Gallic provinces. He wrote alſo to them who were in Italy, and warned them to guard againſt thoſe who came from the Gauls. In the towns bordering on the Gallic frontier, he ordered magazines to be formed; in particular, one of ſix hundred thouſand quarters † of flour at Brigantia ‡, and another of as many more at the foot of the Cottïan Alps §; that he might be enabled to march an army againſt me. All theſe things were not only ſaid but done. For the letters which he ſent ‖ to ſpirit the Barbarians I intercepted, and all

* The Epiſtle to which Julian principally alludes has been inſerted, p. 54.

† Three hundred myriads, or three millions of *medimni*, a corn meaſure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained ſix Roman *modii*. GIBBON.

‡ Now Bregentz, on the banks of the Lake of Conſtance.

§ The mountains that divide Dauphiny from Piedmont.

‖ Meaning the letters which Ammianus mentions in his xxiſt book. Yet he expreſſes himſelf with cool and candid heſitation, *ſi* famæ ſoli *admittenda eſt fides*. GIBBON.

the

the proviſions, which he had ordered to be collected, I ſeized, and alſo the letters of Taurus *. Beſides this, he addreſſed me ſtill as Cæſar, and declared, that he would never be reconciled to me. He ſent, however, one Epictetus †, a Gallic biſhop, to aſſure me of my ſafety; and in all his letters he intimates, that he will ſpare my life; but as to my honour, he is ſilent. In regard to his oaths, I think, as the proverb ſays, they ſhould be written in aſhes, ſo little do they deſerve belief. My own honour, not only for the ſake of what is juſt and right, but for that of the ſafety of my friends, I am determined to maintain; not to mention the cruelties exerciſed throughout all the world.

Theſe arguments are to me concluſive; theſe meaſures appear to me juſt; and I adopted them at firſt in the ſight and hearing of the Gods. Afterwards, on the very day in which I was going to

* Præfect of Italy, and Conſul, with Florentius, in 361, when this Epiſtle was written. He was baniſhed by Julian, ſoon after, during his præfecture and conſulſhip, to Verceliæ, in Italy.

† There was a biſhop of that name, a remarkable favourer of the Arian ſect, who, to gratify Conſtantius, uſed great ſeverity towards the Catholics. But he was biſhop of Centum-cellæ [now Civita-Vecchia] in Thuſcia [Tuſcany] not in Gaul. Perhaps Julian wrote Κεντεμκελλων ("of "Centum-cellæ,") inſtead of των Γαλλιων ("of the Gauls".) Yet Ammianus relates, that the perſon, who was ſent into the Gauls with theſe orders to Julian, was the quæſtor Leonas. PETAU.

harangue the army concerning our march hither *, ſacrificing for the event, for my own ſafety, and much more for the public welfare, and the general freedom of the world, eſpecially of the Gallic nation, whom he has twice abandoned to her enemies, not ſparing the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, though he pays the utmoſt attention to thoſe of foreigners †, the omens were auſpicious. I thought it therefore neceſſary to reduce our formidable enemies ‡, and to coin lawful money of gold and ſilver; and if even now he ſhould be diſpoſed to treat with me, will be ſatisfied with what I at preſent poſſeſs. But if he ſhould pre-

* Illyricum, where this Epiſtle was written.

† The primitive Chriſtians called the temples of the Heathens "ſepulchres," in contempt, becauſe temples began to be built where their Gods were buried. But this the Gentiles afterwards retorted on the Chriſtians, on account of the relics of the martyrs, preſerved and worſhiped in the churches. And hence they ſtyled the Chriſtian churches nothing but ταφους ("tombs.") VALOIS.

‡ After Julian had diſmiſſed Leonas, and ſent a new embaſſy to the Eaſtern court, that he might keep his troops in exerciſe, and preſerve the reputation they had gained, he paſſed the Rhine for the fourth time, ſubdued the Attuarii, a nation of the Franks, who ſtill made incurſions into Gaul; and, repaſſing the Rhine, reviewed and ſtrengthened all the garriſons in the frontier towns, as far as the country of the Rauraci (now the canton of Baſil); from whence he repaired to Beſançon, and then to Vienne, where he kept his winter-quarters. Before the concluſion of the winter, the Germans under king Vadomar, having revolted and pillaged Rhœtia (now the country of the Griſons), he ſeized and baniſhed that prince, and paſſing the Rhine for the fifth and laſt time, ſurpriſed the Barbarians, and forced them to ſwear to a peace, which they never preſumed to violate again during his life.

LA BLETERIE.

fer

fer engaging in a war, and will in no reſpect recede from his former determination, I am ready to do or ſuffer whatever the Gods may decree. It is more diſgraceful to be conquered by ignorance and puſillanimity, than by ſtrength and numbers. If he excells me in numbers, that is owing, not to himſelf, but to his armies. If he had ſurpriſed me ſtill loitering in the Gauls, and tenacious of life, and had ſurrounded me, declining danger, on the flanks and in the rear by the Barbarians, and in front by his own troops, I muſt have ſubmitted, not only to the utmoſt extremity, but, which to the wiſe is the greateſt of evils, to diſgrace *.

Such are the reflections, men of Athens, which I have communicated to my fellow-ſoldiers, and now tranſmit to you and the other cities of Greece †. May the Gods, the Lords of all, afford me the aſſiſtance, which they have promiſed, to the laſt, and grant to Athens, that I may, as much as poſſible, deſerve her favour, and that ſhe may for ever have ſuch Emperors as may intimately

* Julian explains, like a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, the danger of his ſituation, and the neceſſity and advantages of an offenſive war. GIBBON.

† Lacedæmon and Corinth, Zoſimus ſays, were two of the other cities that Julian addreſſed, but all that remains of either, or any, of thoſe Epiſtles, is two ſhort paragraphs of that to the Corinthians, preſerved by Sozomen; in one of which he ſays, "Having reluctantly commenced this "war, but having now, in great meaſure, ſucceeded, "though not yet arrived at the concluſion;" and in the other, he claims their favour, "on account of the friend-"ſhip of his father, who had dwelt among them."

know, and with a distinguished preference esteem, her * !

* The humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed; and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. GIBBON.

This event happened on Sept. 3, 361. It is pretended that, upon his death-bed, he named Julian his successor, willing, no doubt, to make a merit of what he could no longer with-hold from him, and by that to engage him to protect Faustina, whom he had married after the death of Eusebia, and whom he left pregnant of a princess [Constantia], who was afterwards married to the Emperor Gratian. Julian immediately hastened towards Constantinople, which he entered, accompanied by the senate, soldiers, and people, on Dec. 11. LA BLETERIE.

AN

AN ALLEGORICAL FABLE *.

A CERTAIN rich man † had numerous flocks and herds, and many horſes ‡, grazing in his meadows. He had alſo many ſhepherds, as well ſlaves as freed-men, and hired ſervants, herdſmen, goat-herds, grooms, with many eſtates, ſome of which were bequeathed to him by his father §; but moſt of them he had acquired, being deſirous to enrich himſelf by right or wrong, and having little regard for the Gods. He had ſeveral wives, by whom he had ſons and daughters ||, among A. D. 362.

* Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Conſtantine into an allegorical Fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the concluſion of the VIIth Oration. GIBBON.

See a farther account of it in the Preface.

† This rich man is Conſtantine, that eternal object of the hatred and malignity of Julian. LA BLETERIE.

The beginning of this Fable is remarkably ſimilar to that of Nathan's Parable, in 2 Sam. xii. 2. which Julian had read in the Septuagint. Πλέσιω ανδρὶ προβατα ην πολλα, και αγελαι βοων, ſays the Emperor. Τω πλησιον ανδρι ην ποιμνια και βεκολια πολλα σφοδρα, ſays the Prophet.

‡ In the original, ἱπποι μυριαι ("many mares.")

§ Conſtantius Chlorus reigned only over the Gauls, Spain, and Great-Britain. Conſtantine, with much good fortune, and perhaps too much addreſs, made himſelf maſter of the whole empire. LA BLETERIE.

|| Conſtantine left three ſons, between whom he divided the empire. Conſtantine, known in hiſtory by the name of the younger Conſtantine, had the Gauls, Spain, and Great-Britain. Conſtantius had the Eaſt. Conſtans, Italy, Illyricum,

among whom he divided his wealth *, before he died, but without inſtructing them how to manage it, how to acquire more, if it ſhould fail, or, when it was acquired, how to preſerve it. So groſs was

Illyricum, and Africa. We are acquainted only with two daughters of Conſtantine the Great; Conſtantina and Helena. He married the former to Flavius Claudius Hannibalianus, his nephew, ſon of his brother Dalmatius the Cenſor. This princeſs afterwards married the Cæſar Gallus. Helena was married to Julian. It is not at firſt eaſy to conceive how he can ſay, that "the father of the "family divided his eſtate between his ſons and *his daugh-* "*ters*;" as, among the Romans, the daughters were excluded from the empire. But this paſſage of Julian informs us of two things; 1. That if Conſtantine gave his nephew Hannibalianus the title of King, with Armenia the Leſs, Pontus, and Cappadocia, it was on account of his marriage with Conſtantina, on whom, beſides, he conferred the title of Auguſta, and a right to wear the diadem. 2. That if he raiſed Dalmatius, the brother of Hannibalianus, to the dignity of Cæſar, and gave him Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia, it was becauſe Dalmatius was to eſpouſe Helena, who was then a child. Hannibalianus and Dalmatius were included in the maſſacre which followed the death of Conſtantine. One fault of that able politician, a fault much more real than that with which Julian here reproaches him, is that of having raiſed his brothers and his nephews to ſuch a height as to make them formidable to his children. If he could imagine that he ſhould have authority enough over both to prevent the uſual effects of jealouſy and ambition during his life, ſhould he have flattered himſelf that they would have ſuch reſpect to his memory as to remain within the limits which he had preſcribed them? The greateſt princes ought always to think that they will not reign after their deaths.

LA BLETERIE.

* Whether, after the death of Fauſta, the mother of Conſtantius and his brothers, Conſtantine contracted any other marriage does not appear from the memorials, ſtill remaining, of thoſe times; except that in general Julian here ſays, that "he had many wives," ἐγενοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαί, though without naming them. SPANHEIM.

his

his ignorance, that he thought nothing neceſſary but riches; nor in that art had he much experience, having acquired it, not by any fixed principle, but rather by uſe and habit, like empirics, who by practice only cure diſeaſes, and conſequently muſt be ignorant of many. Thus thinking that the number of his ſons would ſufficiently ſecure the continuance of his family, he uſed no endeavour to make them virtuous *.

This was the firſt origin of their diſſenſions. For each of them deſiring, like his father, to have great riches, and ſingly to poſſeſs all, attacked his brother. The calamities occaſioned by their folly and ignorance extended alſo to their neareſt relations, who had had no better education. A general ſlaughter enſued, ſo as to realiſe by divine vengeance the moſt tragical cataſtrophe. They divided their patrimony by the ſword, and every thing was thrown into confuſion. The ſons deſtroyed the temples of their anceſtors, which before indeed had been deſpiſed by their father, and ſtripped of their offerings, dedicated by many, but chiefly by his forefathers. But when they deſtroyed the temples, they repaired the old and erected new ſepulchres †, as if they had foreſeen, that for their

* Julian, in his firſt panegyric on Conſtantius, ſays, that the children of Conſtantine had the moſt excellent education that could be given to princes. He then perhaps flattered. Now perhaps he ſlanders. LA BLETERIE.

† By "ſepulchres" he muſt mean churches. So they were called by the Pagans, becauſe they were built over the tombs of the martyrs *Ibid.* See p. 102, note †.

contempt of the Gods they would ere long want many ſepulchres themſelves.

Amidſt theſe diſorders, marriages alſo being contracted which were no marriages *, and the laws both of Gods and men being thus alike infringed, Jupiter was moved with compaſſion, and addreſſing himſelf to the Sun †, he ſaid to him,

* Conſtantius firſt married the daughter of Julius Conſtantius, his uncle. Though hiſtory does not inform us who were the wives of Conſtantine the younger and Conſtans, it may be preſumed that they alſo married their couſin-germans. Such marriages were not forbidden among the Romans till Theodoſius, whoſe law was afterwards repealed by Juſtinian. However, even before the prohibition of Theodoſius, they were unuſual, becauſe they were odious. It was thought that they bordered upon inceſt. This we learn from St. Auguſtine, *de civitate Dei*, *l.* xv. *c.* 16. *Raro per mores fiebat quod fieri per leges licebat. . . Factum etiam licitum propter vicinitatem horrebatur illiciti ; et quod fiebat cum conſobrinâ penè cum ſorore fieri videbatur, quia et ipſi inter ſe propter tam propinquam conſanguinitatem fratres vocantur, et pene germani ſunt.* Allowing this, it will be eaſy to conceive how a paſſionate enemy, like Julian, may ſo ſeverely reprobate the marriages of the children of Conſtantine. This key, I think, may ſerve for want of better hiſtorical light. LA BLETERIE.

Julian, whoſe mind was biaſſed by ſuperſtition and reſentment, ſtigmatiſes theſe unnatural alliances between his own couſins with the opprobrious name of γαμων τε ου γαμων. The juriſprudence of the canons has ſince revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. GIBBON.

One of theſe "no marriages" was that of Julian himſelf with his couſin Helena. Another, that of Gallus and Conſtantina.

† After what has been ſaid before, it is needleſs here to obſerve, that Julian means by the Sun that intelligence produced from all eternity by the ſupreme God, &c. in a word, the Logos of Plato. LA BLETERIE.

" Of

" Of all the Gods my moſt ancient off-ſpring,
" being born before heaven and earth, doſt thou
" ſtill retain the memory of the inſults thou haſt
" received from that diſdainful and arrogant man,
" who, by forſaking thee *, entailed ſo many
" calamities on himſelf, his family, and his children?
" Though you have not perſonally wreaked your
" vengeance on him, nor have launched your ar-
" rows againſt his children, are you leſs the author
" of that deſtruction which has deſolated his
" family? But let us ſummon the Fates, and en-
" quire of them whether any aſſiſtance can be
" given it."

The Fates inſtantly attended; but the Sun, as if abſorbed in contemplation, continued to fix his eyes on Jupiter. The eldeſt of the Fates thus replied: ' Juſtice and Sanctity, O Father, forbid ' it. But it depends on yourſelf, ſince you have ' ordered us to be ſubſervient to them, to prevail ' on them alſo.' " True," anſwered Jupiter, " they are my daughters, and therefore I may " interrogate them.—Venerable Goddeſſes, what " do you adviſe?" ' That, Father,' they replied, ' is as you direct; but be careful leſt that worſt

* The devotion of Conſtantine was peculiarly directed to the Genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleaſed to be repreſented with the ſymbols of the God of light and poetry. GIBBON.

Among the many coins of this Emperor, found at Reculver, in Kent (the Roman Regulbium), ſome have, on their reverſe, the figure of Apollo, with a ſtar, and *Soli invicto comiti*. This device would have ſerved equally well for Julian.

' of

'of all crimes, a zeal for impiety, ſhould univer-
'ſally prevail in the world.' "To that," ſaid Jupiter, "I will certainly attend." The Fates then approached, and ſpun as the Father directed. Afterwards Jupiter thus addreſſed the Sun: "You "ſee this infant *, the nephew of that rich man, "and the couſin of his heirs. Though deſtitute "and deſpiſed, he is your off-ſpring. Swear, "therefore, to me, by my ſceptre and your own, "that you will take eſpecial care of him, that you "will be his guide, and ſecure him from evil. "You ſee he is enveloped, as it were, with ſmoke, "and filth, and darkneſs, and that the flame which "you have kindled in him is in danger of being "ſtifled:

"And owns no help but from thy ſaving hands †.

"Take him therefore, and ſuperintend his edu-"cation. This I and the Fates allow." At this the Sun much rejoiced, and was pleaſed with the child, perceiving in him a ſmall ſpark of himſelf ſtill remaining. From that time he educated the boy, withdrawing him

Far from alarms, and duſt and blood ‡.

But Jupiter ordered the motherleſs and chaſte Minerva to have a ſhare alſo in his education.

Thus inſtructed, when the youth had attained that age,

* Julian himſelf.

† Iliad IX. 231. Pope, 504. Part of the ſpeech of Ulyſſes to Achilles, requeſting him to aſſiſt the Greeks.

‡ Iliad XI. 164. Pope, 216. applied to Hector, when protected by Jupiter and Fate.

When

When ſprings the down, when youth has all its charms *,

Being appriſed of the numerous calamities which had befallen his relations and couſins, he was ſo terrified, that he would have ruſhed headlong into Tartarus, had he not been prevented by the benevolent Sun and provident Minerva †, who threw him into a ſlumber, which baniſhed that idea. Awaking from this, he returned to his ſolitude, and there, ſitting on a ſtone, he conſidered with himſelf how he ſhould eſcape ſuch a variety of evils; for now every thing appeated adverſe, and he was abandoned even by hope.

Mercury then, who had an affection for him, aſſuming the appearance of one of his young companions, thus kindly accoſted him: "Follow "me, and I will ſhew you a ſmoother and eaſier "way, as ſoon as you have gone through this "winding and rugged path, which obliges, as "you ſee, all who enter it to turn back." The

* Iliad XXIV. 348.

† In the original, τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς. In his IVth Oration, Julian conſiders Pronœa as another name for Minerva. After the example of Plato, whoſe philoſophy he adopted, Julian, like other Heathens, acknowledged God's Providence. Not to mention his maſter Jamblichus (*de Myſter.* *l.* 1. *c.* 9.) "the Providence of God" is mentioned by Euripides, in his Oreſtes, ver. 1181. On ſome excellent coins of Commodus it appears under the ſymbol of a woman extending her right hand, and holding a ſpear in her left, or before an altar, with another figure of a man ſtanding, and on each ſide a tree, with the inſcription ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ. And on the Roman coins is ſometimes ſeen a temple, and ſometimes a radiated figure of the ſun, with PROVIDENTIA inſcribed, &c. SPANHEIM.

youth

youth then proceeded cautiously, with his sword, his shield, and spear, but with his head unarmed. Relying on his guide, he came to a road, though unfrequented, highly pleasant, and embroidered with fruit-trees and flowers innumerable, such as are pleasing to the Gods, and also with ivy, laurel, and myrtle.

When they arrived at the foot of a high mountain, "On the summit of that," said Mercury, "dwells the Father of the Gods; be careful "therefore, for great is your danger, to worship "him in the most religious manner. Ask of him "whatever you please. You will wish, my child, "for what is best." So saying, Mercury disappeared, though the youth was very desirous of being informed by him what petition he should prefer to the Father of the Gods. Thus deserted, he could only advise with himself, and he could not have been advised better. "Though I do not "yet see," said he, "the Father of the Gods, "let me solicit him for his best gifts. O Father "Jupiter, or by whatever other name thou pleasest "to be called, for that to me is indifferent, teach "me the way that leads to thee. For the region "of thy residence is incomparably beautiful, if I "may judge of its excellence by the pleasantness "of the path through which I have been con-"ducted hither." After having thus prayed, he fell fast asleep. During this slumber, or trance, Jupiter shewed him the Sun in person. Astonished at this sight, the youth exclaimed, "For this and

" all thy other favours, O Father of the Gods, I " offer and dedicate myſelf to thee." Then embracing the knees of the Sun, he intreated his protection. But he, calling Minerva, bade her firſt obſerve what arms he had brought. Seeing only a ſword, a ſhield, and a ſpear, " Where, my " ſon," ſaid ſhe, " are your ægis and helmet ?" He anſwered, " I could ſcarce provide even theſe; " neglected and deſpiſed, I had no friend in the " family of my relations." " What then," replied the Sun, " will you ſay, when I tell you, " that you muſt neceſſarily return to it ?" Hearing this, the youth intreated him, with many tears, not to ſend him thither again, as, in that caſe, he ſhould never ſee him more, but ſhould certainly periſh there, overwhelmed with misfortunes. " You " are young," ſaid the Sun, " and have not yet been " initiated. Return therefore to earth, and when you " are initiated *, dwell in ſafety; return and pu-

" rify

* By the hands of Maximus [See the firſt note on Epiſtle XV.] Julian was ſecretly initiated at Epheſus, in the twentieth year of his age. His reſidence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philoſophy and ſuperſtition. He obtained the privilege of a ſolemn initiation into the myſteries of Eleuſis, which, amidſt the general decay of the Grecian worſhip, ſtill retained ſome veſtiges of their primæval ſanctity; and ſuch was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleuſinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the ſole purpoſe of conſummating, by myſtic rites and ſacrifices, the great work of his ſanctification. As theſe ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the ſilence of the night; and as the inviolable ſecret of the myſteries was preſerved by the diſcretion of the initiated; I ſhall not preſume to deſcribe the horrid ſounds, and fiery

" rify yourſelf from all impiety. You muſt " then invoke me, and Minerva, and the other " Gods."

The youth, at theſe words, remained ſilent. The Sun then conducting him to a mountain, (whoſe ſummit ſhone with light, but whoſe lower parts were covered with thick darkneſs, through which, however, as through a miſt, the rays of the Sun appeared dim and faint), thus addreſſed him: ' You ſee your couſin the heir *: Do you ſee ' alſo thoſe herdſmen and ſhepherds?' He replied in the affirmative. ' How is he,' ſaid the Sun, ' and how are his ſhepherds and herdſmen, em- ' ployed?' " He," ſaid the youth, " ſeems to me " aſleep; he lives in retirement, and devotes him- " ſelf to pleaſure. Few of his ſhepherds are well- " diſpoſed; moſt of them are wicked and cruel; " for they either devour or ſell his ſheep, and thus " doubly injure their maſter; they ruin his flocks, " and, though they receive much and return him " but little, they complain that they are defrauded " of their wages; but it were better that they " ſhould be paid the whole, than the ſheep be " deſtroyed." ' But ſuppoſe,' ſaid the Sun, ' I ' and Minerva, by the command of Jupiter, ' ſhould appoint you guardian of all theſe flocks, ' in the room of this heir?' This the youth again

apparitions, which were preſented to the ſenſes, or the imagination, of the credulous aſpirant, till the viſions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celeſtial light. GIBBON.

* Conſtantius.

oppoſed,

oppoſed, and earneſtly intreated to remain there. The Sun replied, " Be not obſtinately diſobedient, " leſt my hatred ſhould be equal to the love that " I have borne you." The youth then anſwered, ' O moſt excellent Sun and Minerva, and thee ' too I atteſt, O Father Jupiter, diſpoſe of me ' abſolutely as you pleaſe.' After this, Mercury, again appearing, inſpired him with additional courage. For now he thought he had found a guide in his return, and during the time that he was to paſs on earth.

Minerva then thus accoſted him: " Good ſon " of this excellent and divine father and of me, " attend! The beſt ſhepherds, you obſerve, do " not pleaſe this heir; but profligates and flatterers " have enſlaved him. Conſequently he is not " beloved by the good and virtuous, and by thoſe " who ſeem his friends he is injured and diſ- " honoured. Be careful therefore, when you re- " turn, never to prefer a flatterer to a friend. " Take another advice, my ſon. That man ſleeps, " and of courſe is often deceived; but be you " ſober and vigilant *. A flatterer often aſſumes " the confidence of a friend; juſt as if a ſmith, " covered with ſmoke and aſhes, ſhould, by a " painted face and a white garment, induce you to

* Συ δε νηφε, και γρηγορει.

The ſame words as thoſe of the Apoſtle, Νηψαλε, γρηγορησαλε, 1 Pet. v. 8.

This is not the firſt paſſage in which we have ſeen our author availing himſelf of his Chriſtian erudition.

" give him one of your daughters in marriage.
" Thirdly, let me exhort you to have a particular
" regard to yourſelf. Reſpect us in the firſt place;
" among men, thoſe who reſemble us moſt, and
" no one beſides. You ſee how much this poor
" wretch has ſuffered from a falſe ſhame and a
" fooliſh timidity."

To this the Sun added, ' Thoſe whom you ſelect
' for your friends treat as friends, not as ſervants
' and domeſtics. Behave to them with freedom,
' candour, and generoſity, not thinking of them
' one thing, and ſaying another. What was ſo
' deſtructive to this young heir as unfaithfulneſs
' to his friends? Love your ſubjects, as you are
' loved by us. Whatever relates to our worſhip
' prefer to all other virtues. For we are your
' benefactors, and friends, and preſervers.'

Delighted at theſe words, the youth clearly ſhewed his deſire to obey the Gods implicitly in all things. " Depart now," ſaid the Sun, " with
" joyful hopes, for I, and Minerva, and Mer-
" cury will every where be with you, and alſo
" all the Gods who dwell on Olympus, or in the
" air, or on earth, and all the other deities; ſo
" you ſhall be pious to us, faithful to your friends,
" and humane to your ſubjects, teaching them to
" excell by your example, and never being en-
" ſlaved by their paſſions or your own. Retain
" the armour that you brought hither, and receive
" from me this torch, which will afford you ſuch
" light on earth, that you will not need that of
" heaven.

" heaven. Accept alſo from good Minerva an
" ægis and a helmet, for ſhe has many, as you
" ſee, which ſhe beſtows on whom ſhe pleaſes.
" Mercury, beſides, will give you a golden wand.
" Depart therefore, relying on this armour, and
" traverſe earth and ſea, inviolably obeying our
" laws. Let neither man, nor woman, your
" own countrymen, nor foreigners, perſuade you
" to neglect our precepts. While you obſerve
" them, you will be loved and eſteemed by us,
" and alſo reſpected by our good ſervants, and
" formidable both to wicked men and evil dæ-
" mons *. Know that you were inveſted with a
" mortal body in order to diſcharge theſe duties.
" For the ſake of your anceſtors, we wiſh to
" purify your family from every ſtain. Remember,
" therefore, that your ſoul is immortal, and ſprung
" from us; and that, if you follow us, you will be
" a God, and with us will behold our Father."

Whether this be a fable, or a true narrative, I cannot tell †.

* It is well known that the Platoniſts admitted of good and evil Genii, and that they included both under the name of dæmons. LA BLETERIE.

† Thus St. Paul, *Whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth.* 2 Cor. xii. 3.

The Duties of a Priest.

Extracted from the Fragment of an Oration, or Epiſtle *.

A. D. 362 or 3.

*** IF any are detected misbehaving to their prince, they are immediately puniſhed; but thoſe who refuſe to approach the Gods, are poſſeſſed by a tribe of evil dæmons, who, driving many

* This Fragment was interwoven with the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, as has been obſerved in the notes on that Epiſtle. We have therefore publiſhed it ſeparately. It is part of an epiſtle which Julian wrote to ſome High Prieſt, teaching him the example which he ought to ſet to thoſe of his own order both at home and abroad. And there are many things in this Fragment which he wiſhes his people to practiſe in imitation of the Chriſtians. PETAU.

Mr. Gibbon ſtyles this "a long and curious Fragment "without beginning or end;" and adds, "The Supreme "Pontiff derides the Moſaic hiſtory, and the Chriſtian "diſcipline; prefers the Greek poets to the Jewiſh pro- "phets; and palliates, with the ſkill of a Jeſuit, the *re-* "*lative* worſhip of images."

A more full account of it has been given in the Preface by the Abbé de la Bleterie, whoſe reaſons for not tranſlating the whole I deem concluſive. But, omitting the offenſive parts, the extracts which I have ſelected ſhew the great uſe which Julian made of that *ſound form of doctrine which was once delivered to* him by tranſplanting into his own religious code, but without acknowledgment, many of the moral

many of the atheiſts * to diſtraction, make them think death deſirable †, that they may fly up into heaven, after having forcibly diſlodged their ſouls. Some of them prefer deſerts to towns; but, man being by nature a gentle and ſocial animal, they alſo are abandoned to evil dæmons, who urge them to this miſanthropy; and many of them have had recourſe to chains and collars ‡. Thus, on all ſides, they are impelled by an evil dæmon, to whom they have voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves by forſaking the immortal and tutelar Gods. But enough of theſe. I now return to the ſubject from which I have digreſſed.

The practice of virtue, in obedience to the laws of their country, ſhould certainly be enforced by the governors of ſtates; but it is alſo your duty to exhort the people by no means to

moral precepts of the goſpel, particularly that *new commandment*, *Love your enemies*, *do good to them that hate you*, &c. And, on the whole, if great part of the charge (as it may be called) which he here delivers to his Pagan prieſthood, was obſerved by our Chriſtian clergy, they would be more reſpectable, and more reſpected, than they are.

* The uſual elogium of the Chriſtians with this apoſtate. SPANHEIM.

† Julian ſeems here to allude to the religious frenzy, the horror of life, and the deſire of martyrdom, which poſſeſſed the enthuſiaſtic Donatiſts.

‡ The ſolitary fanatics, whoſe iron chains, &c. the philoſopher here ridicules, were the monks and hermits who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardſhips of the aſcetic life. See Tillemont, *Mem. Eccleſ. tom.* ix. p. 661, 662. GIBBON.

Theſe ſolitary aſcetics then abounded in Ægypt, Paleſtine, and Meſopotamia, as is evident from other remainss of that age. SPANHEIM.

tranſgreſs the ſacred laws of the Gods. The office of a prieſt being neceſſarily more reſpectable than that of any other citizen, it may be proper for me now to conſider that, and to teach you its obligations. Some perhaps may be better informed: I wiſh I could ſay all; but I hope it of thoſe who are naturally temperate and virtuous. Such will own this diſcourſe to be adapted to them.

In the firſt place, above all things cultivate philanthropy; as this is attended by many other bleſſings, and particularly by that, which is the greateſt and moſt excellent of all, the favour of the Gods. For as thoſe who kindly participate in the concerns of their maſters, in their friendſhips, their ſtudies, and amours, are more beloved than their fellow-ſervants; ſo it muſt be ſuppoſed that the Divine Being, who, by his nature, is a lover of mankind *, is delighted with thoſe who love each other. Of philanthropy there are various kinds; one is the puniſhing offenders ſparingly, and that for the good of the puniſhed, as maſters correct their ſcholars; another is the relieving the wants of the poor, as the Gods relieve ours. Obſerve the many bleſſings with which they ſupply us from the earth; food eſpecially, of every kind, and that more in quantity than they have afforded to all other animals united. As we are born naked, they cloath us with the hair of beaſts, and with ſuch raiment alſo as is furniſhed

* Φιλαίθρωπον. Φιλανθρωπια, in like manner, is aſcribed to God by St. Paul (Tit. iii. 4.), from whom Julian probably borrowed it.

by the earth and trees. And not contented merely with rudeneſs and ſimplicity, with ſuch coats, as, Moſes ſays, they made of ſkins *; conſider alſo how many gifts we enjoy of induſtrious Minerva. What other animal is indulged with wine? what other with oil? unleſs we impart to them what we refuſe to men. What fiſhes feed on corn? or what beaſts on marine productions? I do not mention gold, braſs, and iron, with all which the Gods have enriched us; not to incur their reſentment by overlooking the vagrant poor, eſpecially when any of them are in morals irreproachable, but, having inherited nothing from their parents, are reduced to poverty by a nobleneſs of mind which deſpiſes wealth. On ſeeing theſe, the generality of mankind are apt to arraign the Gods. Indigence, however, is by no means chargeable to the Gods, but to the inſatiable avarice of us who are rich, to which are owing the falſe ideas which men form of the Gods, and the calumnies with which they reproach them. Do we deſire that God would rain down gold on the poor, as he did formerly on the Rhodians †? Were this to be granted, immediately ſending out our ſervants, and every where placing veſſels, we ſhould drive away all

* Gen. iii. 21.—*the Lord God made coats of ſkins, and cloathed them.*

† Jupiter is ſaid to have rained gold on the Rhodians at the time when Vulcan, cleaving his ſkull with a hatchet, delivered him of Minerva. See Pindar. Olymp. VII. and Homer. Il. II. 670.

With joy they ſaw the growing empire riſe,
And ſhowers of wealth deſcending from the ſkies.

POPE 813.

others,

others, that we alone might ſnatch the common bleſſings of the Gods. Some perhaps may wonder at our wiſhing for what cannot poſſibly happen, and would be utterly uſeleſs; ſince what is abſolutely in our power we do not practiſe. Who was ever impoveriſhed by what he gave to others? I, for my part, as often as I have been liberal to the poor, have in return been abundantly rewarded by the Gods; though I have never been a vile hoarder, nor have I ever repented of my generoſity. I ſay nothing of the preſent time (as it would be abſurd to compare private generoſity with Imperial munificence), but, when I was a ſubject *, I remember that this often happened †. Thus when the eſtate of my grandmother ‡, which had been forcibly with-held, at length devolved to me entire; of the little which I then had I expended and beſtowed on the poor. We ought therefore of our abundance to be communicative to all men, but eſpecially to the virtuous; and to

* Conſequently, while he yet frequented the churches of the Chriſtians. SPANHEIM.

† This had of old been divinely ſaid by another, the wiſeſt of princes: *He that hath pity upon the poor*, (or, which is the ſame thing, *who giveth to the poor*), *lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, will he pay him again. Prov.* xix. 17. And in another place, *The liberal ſoul ſhall be made fat; and he that watereth, ſhall be watered alſo himſelf.* xi. 25. *Ibid.*

‡ The name of Julian's maternal grand-mother is unknown. She eſpouſed Anicius Julianus, who was a præfect, and from this marriage ſprung Baſilina (the mother of Julian), and the famous Count Julian. LA BLETERIE. See Epiſtle xlvi.

the

the indigent, as far as will relieve their neceſſities. I will add, though it may ſeem paradoxical, that it is a duty to give cloathing and food to our enemies *; for we give it to their nature, and not to their conduct. And, therefore, I think that thoſe who are impriſoned in dungeons, are alſo worthy of this attention, as ſuch humanity by no means interferes with juſtice. For as many are impriſoned for trial, of whom ſome are to be condemned, and others acquitted, it would be much too ſevere to refuſe compaſſion even to the guilty for the ſake of the innocent, and rather to treat the innocent with cruelty and inhumanity on account of the guilty. The more I conſider this, the more unjuſt I think it. We ſtyle Jupiter the Hoſpitable, yet we ourſelves are more inhoſpitable than the Scythians. How, or with what conſcience, can one, who would ſacrifice to Jupiter the Hoſpitable, approach his ſhrine, when he forgets, that

By Jove the ſtranger and the poor are ſent,
And what to thoſe we give, to Jove is lent †?

* Can there be a doubt of the fountain from which Julian drew this living water, ſo different from the muddy ſtreams of his favourite philoſophers? *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink. Rom.* xii. 20. *Inaſmuch as ye have done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Matth.* xxv. 40.

† Odyſſ. VI. 207. Broome 247. Part of the ſpeech of Nauſicaa to Ulyſſes on finding him ſhipwrecked on Phæacia. The ſame lines occur again in Odyſs. xiv. 56. and are alſo quoted by Julian in Epiſtle xlix. They are there differently tranſlated by Pope. Thus alſo Odyſſ. ix. 270.

—— the Gods revere;
The poor and ſtranger are their conſtant care. POPE 301.

And

And how can a worſhipper of ſocial Jupiter, if he ſees any one in diſtreſs, and does not give him part of a drachm, think that he worſhips Jupiter as he ought? When I reflect on theſe things, I am quite aſtoniſhed, ſeeing the ſurnames of the Gods, coeval with the world, conſidered as ſo many painted images, but in fact by no means treated by us as ſuch. The Gods are ſtyled by us Houſhold Gods, and Jupiter the Domeſtic Deity; but we behave to our relations as if they were ſtrangers. For man is related, with or without his conſent, to every other man; whether, as is ſaid by ſome, we all proceed from one man and one woman; or whether the Gods produced not one man and one woman only, but many at once, in great numbers, together with the world. For they who could create one man and one woman, were alſo able to create many, and in the ſame manner that they produced them, they might alſo produce theſe. Conſider not only the variety of cuſtoms and of laws, but, which is more important, more excellent, and more prevalent, that tradition of the Gods which has been tranſmitted to us by the moſt ancient miniſters in things ſacred; namely, that, when Jupiter formed the world, ſome drops of ſacred blood were ſpilled on the earth, from which ſprung mankind. Thus we are all relations; ſince from one man and one woman, or from two perſons, many men and women have ſprung, as the Gods declare, and we muſt neceſſarily believe on the teſtimony of the facts themſelves,

ſelves, as we all derive our origin from the Gods. That many men were produced at once is teſtified by facts, but will be more clearly ſhewn in another place. * * * * *.

It is proper alſo to obſerve, as has been ſaid by thoſe who have preceded us, that man is by nature a ſocial animal. Shall we, then, who deliver and eſtabliſh theſe maxims, act unſocially towards our neighbours? Urged by ſuch cuſtoms and inclinations, let every one of us diſcharge the duties of piety towards the Gods, of benevolence towards men, of chaſtity in regard to the body, and all the offices of religion. Let us endeavour always to retain in our minds ſome religious idea of the Gods, and viewing their temples and images with honour and veneration, let us revere them as much as if we ſaw the Gods themſelves there preſent. For the images, and altars, the cuſtody of the ſacred fire, and all other things of that kind, were eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors as ſymbols of the preſence of the Gods; not that we ſuppoſe them to be Gods, but that we may worſhip the Gods by them *. . . . .

Beſides the images of the Gods, their temples, their ſhrines, and their altars are to be reverenced. It is alſo reaſonable that the prieſts ſhould be honoured, as the miniſters and ſervants of the

* This plea in defence of image-worſhip has been ſince adopted, as is well known, by the Romiſh Church. Other arguments equally futile and jeſuitical follow. But the above may ſuffice.

Gods,

Gods, who diſpenſe to us what relates to them, and contribute much towards procuring us their favours. For they celebrate ſacrifices, and offer up prayers, for all. And therefore it is juſt to pay them not leſs but rather more honour than to the civil magiſtrates. But if any one ſhould think that the civil magiſtrates are entitled to equal honour, as they diſcharge a kind of prieſtly function, by being guardians of the laws; yet no leſs reſpect is due to the others. The Greeks adviſed their king to reverence a prieſt *, though an enemy; and ſhall we not reverence thoſe who are our friends, and who pray and ſacrifice for us?

As my diſcourſe has returned to the point from which it digreſſed, it is proper for me now to explain how a prieſt ought to act in order to be juſtly eſteemed. As to what relates to ourſelves, that need not here be diſcuſſed or examined.

As long as a prieſt retains his rank, he ſhould be honoured and reſpected; when he is wicked, let him be degraded from the prieſthood, and when he is unworthy, deſpiſed. But as long as he ſacrifices, and makes libations, and attends on the Gods, we ſhould behold him, as we do their moſt valuable poſſeſſions, with regard and veneration. For it is abſurd to love the ſtones of which altars are formed, on account of their being conſecrated to the Gods, and becauſe they are of ſuch a ſhape

* Hom. Il. I. 23. Speaking of Chryſes. Αιδεσθαι θ' ιερηα, &c. The prieſt to reverence, &c.

and

and figure as are suitable to the holy office for which they are intended; and not to think a man, who is dedicated to the Gods, worthy of honour. Some perhaps may think that the same honour is also due to one who acts unjustly, and is guilty of many transgressions in his holy office. Such a one, I say, should be censured, lest by his wickedness he should offend the Gods; but till he has been censured, let him not be despised. Nor is it reasonable, having this opportunity, to deny not such only, but those who deserve it, the honour that is their due. Like a magistrate, therefore, let every priest be respected, as this is the oracle of the Didymæan God *:

They whom depravity and folly lead
To scorn the priests of heaven's immortal powers,
And to the wise intentions of the Gods
Their own vain thoughts contemptuously oppose,
In safety live not half their days, condemn'd
To perish by th' eternal Gods, who deem
Their servants honour sacred as their own †.

And again, in another place, the God says,

For all my servants by destructive vice, &c.

and declares, that for that he will inflict punishments upon them. As there are many such sayings

* Didymæan Apollo. This title was given to Apollo, or the Sun, by reason of his own light, and that which he communicates to the Moon. Macrob. Sat. I. 17.

Others derive the name from a temple and oracle of Apollo at Didyma in Miletus. See Strabo, *Geog.* l. XIV. Pliny, and Lucian *de Astrologiâ*.

† Julian quotes this oracle again in his LXIId Epistle.

of

of the God, which may inſtruct us how much we ought to honour and venerate the prieſthood, I will diſcuſs them more fully on ſome other occaſion. It may be ſufficient at preſent, as I would ſay nothing inconſiderately, to quote this prophecy and mandate of the God in his own words. If any one therefore thinks me in theſe matters an inſtructor worthy of credit, let him revere and obey the God, and pay diſtinguiſhed honour to the prieſts.

What a prieſt ought to be, I will now endeavour to explain; not on your account (for had I not been firmly perſuaded, not only by the teſtimony of our chief *, but by that of the ſupreme Gods, that you would ably diſcharge this office, as far as your will and inclination are concerned, I ſhould not have ventured to entruſt to you a work of ſuch importance) but that you may inſtruct others in your neighbourhood, both in town and country, by ſtronger arguments, and with ſuperior authority, as not being merely your private ſentiments, or your own practice only, but as being alſo my opinion, who, in what relates to the Gods, ſeem to be Supreme Pontiff †, and though by no means worthy

* Καθηγεμονος. Probably Maximus, the perverter of Julian to Paganiſm (ſee p. 113. note *) whom, writing to another prieſt (Epiſtle LXIII.) he calls by the ſame name, "Κοινος καθηγεμων, their common maſter;" and on whoſe advice, in theſe eccleſiaſtical arrangements, it appears that he chiefly relied.

† It is remarkable, that Julian here does not expreſsly ſtyle himſelf Sovereign Pontiff, but that "he ſeemed to be" ſo, δοκειν ειναι, though Conſtantine and the ſucceeding Emperors

worthy of ſo high an office, yet ſtudy to be ſo, and for that purpoſe conſtantly ſupplicate the Gods. Be aſſured, that they have given us great hopes after death, and on them we may with confidence * rely, as they are incapable of deceiving, not only in ſuch matters, but in any of the concerns of human life. If, by their excellent power, they can correct all the diſturbances and monſtrous abuſes that happen in this life, how much more in the other (where the contending parts are diſunited, the immortal ſoul being ſeparated, and the body dead), will they be able to perform all the promiſes that they have made to mankind? Knowing therefore that the Gods have aſſigned to their prieſts great rewards, let us make thoſe whoſe lives are conformable to their examples, which ought to ſpeak to the vulgar, ſponſors in every thing for their dignity. This we muſt begin with piety towards the Gods. Thus it becomes us to miniſter to them as ſuppoſing them preſent and ſeeing us (though we ſee not them), and, with a ſight ſuperior to every kind of ſplendor, pene-

perors (as has been obſerved by Spanheim, from ancient marbles, coins, &c. *Obſ. ad Jul. Orat.* 1. p. 278.) retained this dignity till the reign of Gratian.

Neither was Gallienus, as Spanheim aſſerts, nor Claudius, as others, the laſt on whoſe coins the titles of Pontifex Maximus, and the tribunitial power, are recorded. CLARKE.

* This is not ſo much a Chaldæan, or an Hermetic, or even a Platonic, as a Chriſtian confidence. SPANHEIM.

trating our moſt ſecret thoughts *. That this is not my ſentiment, but that of God, expreſſed in ſeveral paſſages, it may be ſufficient to ſhew by one inſtance, which will eſtabliſh theſe two points, that the Gods ſee all things, and that they delight in the pious:

Nothing eſcapes the wide-extended beam
Of Phœbus; ſolid rocks it penetrates,
And ſeas cœrulean; nor the ſtarry hoſt
Eludes it, through the firmament, untir'd,
Revolving, by neceſſity's wiſe law;
Nor all the nations of the dead, beneath
Immers'd by Tartarus in ſhades of night.
But not high Heaven delights me more than goodneſs.

Therefore as every ſoul, eſpecially the human †, is more nearly connected with and allied to the Gods than ſtones or rocks, it is probable that the eyes of the Gods can penetrate them with much more eaſe and efficacy. Obſerve too the philanthropy of God, in ſaying, that he is "as much "delighted with the thoughts of religious men, "as with the purity of Olympus." Will he not therefore raiſe the ſouls of us all, who piouſly approach him, from darkneſs and from Tartarus?

* Thus the Pſalmiſt, *Thou underſtandeſt my thought afar off. Thou art acquainted with all my ways*, &c. Pſ. cxxxix. 2, 3.

† By this diſtinction, or preference, Julian ſeems to ſuppoſe that beaſts alſo have ſouls, as he muſt allude to ſome beings inferior to the human.

For

For he knows even thoſe who are confined in Tartarus, that not being exempted from the divine power. But to the pious, inſtead of Tartarus, he promiſes Olympus *.

Above all, therefore, it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the prieſts to be active in works of piety, that they may approach the Gods with religious awe †, and not ſay or hear any thing that is ſhameful. For prieſts ought not only to abſtain from all impure and immodeſt practices, but alſo from all ſuch words and ſights. Far, therefore, from us be all licentious jeſts, and all ſcurrilous diſcourſe ‡. That you may more clearly underſtand my meaning, let no prieſt read Archilochus ||, nor

* It is curious to hear a heathen philoſopher thus inculcating the immortality, or future exiſtence, of the ſoul, the reſurrection, &c. But, as the woman of Samaria ſaid to our Lord, *the well is deep*; and Julian, like her, *had nothing to draw with* but what he borrowed from Chriſtianity. Where, for inſtance, did he learn, that "the pious are "promiſed Olympus?" Virgil, improving on Homer, ſpeaks only of Elyſian fields, or pleaſant earthly manſions, *locos lætos, et amœna virecta*, &c. in which ſages and heroes were placed after death. But that the juſt ſhall be *caught up into heaven*, or are promiſed Olympus, that where God himſelf is, *there they ſhall be alſo, was brought to light by the goſpel*.

† Thus the Pſalmiſt, *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling*. Pſalm ii. 11.

‡ Thus St. Paul, *Neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient*, &c. Eph. v. 4.

|| Julian characteriſes the poetry of Archilochus in his VIIth oration. He was the firſt inventor of Iambics.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo,
—— —— Archilochus by rage
Was with his own Iambic arm'd,

as Horace expreſſes it, in which he wrote ſo ſeverely againſt

nor Hipponax *, nor any other writer of that claſs: let him alſo avoid every thing that has the ſame tendency in the old Comedy †. Much preferable and more ſuitable to us is the ſtudy of philoſophy

Lycambes, who had promiſed him his daughter in marriage, but gave her to another, that he hanged himſelf. His poems are now loſt.

* A witty poet of Epheſus, whoſe Iambics are ſaid to have had the ſame tragical effect as thoſe of Archilochus. They are alſo loſt.

How little Julian obſerved this rule himſelf will be evident to any one from ſeveral of his works, in which he more than once alludes to the ſayings both of Archilochus and the old comic poets, but particularly from the Cæſars and the Miſopogon, which are not only ſeaſoned with ſarcaſms and jokes, but alſo abound with ſcoffs more cutting and ſevere than any of the Iambics of Archilochus or Hipponax. So that what Cyril ſaid, in his books againſt him, was not undeſerved, that "he ſtudiouſly covets the reputa- "tion of great and various erudition." SPANHEIM.

† The old Comedy was ſo called on account of the alterations that happened afterwards, and which occaſioned three ſorts of comedy; the old, the middle, and the new. The old, in which there was nothing fictitious, either in the ſubject, or in the names of the actors: The middle, where the ſubjects were not fictitious; they were true hiſtories, but the names were invented: And the new, in which every thing was feigned; the poets invented not only the ſubjects, but alſo the names. Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes, [all mentioned by Horace, l. 1. ſat. 4. 1.] are the three greateſt poets of the old comedy, and were contemporary, about 400 years before our Saviour. The liberty which they took of naming notorious offenders, ſuch as Cleon, Hyperbolus, Cleophantes, &c. they often abuſed; Cratinus did not ſpare even the great Pericles, and Ariſtophanes reſpected not the wiſdom of Socrates. Not contented with making men's actions the ſubjects of their pieces, they repreſented their faces to the life by means of masks, which were made to reſemble them. DACIER.

How cloſely Foote, the modern Ariſtophanes, trod in the ſteps of theſe ancients is notorious.

alone,

alone, of thoſe ſects eſpecially which boaſt the Gods as the firſt promulgers of their doctrine, ſuch as thoſe of Pythagoras *, Plato, and Ariſtotle, and alſo thoſe who follow Chryſippus † and Zeno ‡. Not that we ſhould liſten to all, or to the tenets of them all, but to thoſe tenets only which are productive of piety: and as to the Gods, theſe teach us, firſt, that they are; ſecondly, that they regard things below §; and laſtly, that they do not the leaſt evil to men or others, or are envious, ſlanderous, or contentious, as has been related by our poets, but for which they are deſpiſed, while the Jewiſh prophets, for ſtrongly aſſerting the ſame, are admired by thoſe wretches who adhere to the Galileans ‖. To us thoſe hiſtories are moſt ſuitable which relate real facts; but let thoſe fictions, which the ancients have compoſed in the form of hiſtories, be avoided; ſuch as love-tales,

* See p. 21. † See p. 8. ‡ See p. 39.

§ Thus St. Paul—*he that cometh to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.* Heb. xi. 6.

‖ The ſentiments of Julian were expreſſed in a ſtyle of ſarcaſtic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it iſſues from the mouth of a ſovereign. As he was ſenſible that the Chriſtians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the uſe of the leſs honourable appellation of *Galileans*. GIBBON.

There might be a mixture of policy in it too, as knowing the efficacy of a nick-name to render a profeſſion ridiculous. LA BLETERIE.

This nick-name, however, did not originate with Julian. Epictetus gave the Chriſtians the ſame appellation near 300 years before. See his Diſcourſes IV. § 2. &c.

and every thing in that ſtrain. As all ways * are not proper for a prieſt †, but require being pointed out to him, neither does every kind of reading ſuit him. For the mind is affected by books; and the paſſions, being ſoon raiſed, on a ſudden burſt forth into a dreadful flame. Againſt this, I think, we ſhould watchfully guard long before.

Let no admittance be given to the doctrine of Epicurus ‡, nor to that of Pyrrho §. The Gods indeed

* This refers to the "Sacred Way," a ſtreet in Rome ſo called, becauſe the prieſts went that way on the ides of each month to ſacrifice. Horace met his Impertinent in it. *Ibam forte viâ ſacrâ*, &c. *l.* 1. *Sat.* 9.

† As to this inſtitution there is a remarkable paſſage of Athenæus, at the end of his ſixth book, where he treats of the remains of ancient frugality and parſimony, which were ſtill retained in the offices of religion: "We walk in "ſome preſcribed and appointed ways; we carry [in our "proceſſions] and repeat in our prayers what we are en-"joined, and in our ſacrifices we act with ſimplicity and "œconomy. For we wear nothing more than nature re-"quires, either next to our bodies, or in our outward "garments; our cloaths and our ſhoes are cheap, and the "veſſels with which we miniſter are of earth or braſs."

PETAU.

‡ Epicurus, the diſciple of Xenocrates and Ariſtotle, ſuppoſed the world to be formed by chance, or a fortuitous concourſe of atoms. He maintained alſo that pleaſure was the end of man, of which he conſtituted ſenſe the judge. He denied the natural relation of mankind to each other, taught irreligion and injuſtice, and his principles led to oppreſſion, adultery, and murder, in the opinion of Epictetus and others.

§ Pyrrho, the founder of the ſect of the Pyrrhoniſts [or Sceptics], was born at Elis, and flouriſhed about the time of Alexander. [He was contemporary alſo with Epicurus and Theophraſtus.] He held, that there is no difference between juſt and unjuſt, good and evil; that all things are equally

indeed have wisely abolished them, many of their writings being lost *; but it cannot be improper to mention them, for the sake of example, to shew what kind of books the priests ought principally to shun. And if books, much rather should thoughts, be avoided. For the guilt of the mind, and that of

equally indifferent, uncertain, and undistinguishable; that neither our senses nor understanding give us either a true or a false information: therefore, that we ought to give them no credit, but to remain without opinion, without motion, without inclination; and to say of every thing, that it no more is than it is not; that it is no more one thing than another; and that against one reason there is always an equal reason to be opposed. His life is said to have been conformable to his principles; for that he never avoided any thing; and his friends were obliged to follow him, to prevent his running under the wheels of a coach, or walking down a precipice. But these stories perhaps are nothing but mere invention, formed to expose the absurdities of his system. Once, when he saw his master Anaxarchus fallen into a ditch, he passed by him, without offering him any assistance. Anaxarchus was consistent enough with his principles not to suffer Pyrrho to be blamed for this tranquil behaviour; which he justified, as a laudable instance of indifference, and want of affection. A fine picture this of sceptical friendship!

For a more complete account of the system of Pyrrho, see Diogenes Laertius, in his life; and Lipsius *Manuduct. ad Stoic. Philosoph.* l. II. dis. 3. Mrs. CARTER.

* The exultation of Julian that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions, and arguments the most repugnant to his own, should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind. GIBBON.

" With the sacerdotal character, of a Pagan or a Papist, " such exultation may be consistent;" but surely not with that of a Protestant, who is taught to " prove all things," and whose secession from the church of Rome was grounded on freedom of enquiry, and justified by reason.

the tongue, are not, in my opinion, of an equal dye; but the mind ſhould in the firſt place be guarded, as by it the tongue is taught to offend. The hymns therefore of the Gods ſhould be learned, which are many and beautiful, compoſed both by ancients and moderns; and chiefly thoſe which are ſung in the temples. For moſt of them the Gods have by ſupplications been induced to deliver; though ſome, the effuſions of divine inſpiration, and of ſouls inacceſſible to evil, have been made by men in honour of the Gods. Theſe deſerve to be ſtudied; and the Gods ſhould frequently be addreſſed, in private as well as in public; generally three times a day; or, at leaſt, at the dawn, and in the evening. Nor is it proper for a prieſt to paſs a whole day and night without a ſacrifice; for as the dawn is the beginning of the day, ſo is the evening of the night; and therefore it is reaſonable to offer the firſt-fruits, as it were, of both theſe intervals to the Gods when we reſt from our prieſtly function. The rites that are performed in the temples are performed in obedience to the laws of our country, and neither more nor leſs is required than they preſcribe. Theſe are the property of the Gods. Therefore to render them the more propitious, we ſhould imitate their nature: And indeed if we conſiſted of ſouls only, as the body would then be no obſtruction to us, it might be proper to preſcribe a particular mode of life to the prieſts. But ſince the

the prieſts do not merely conſiſt of ſouls *, that which they are to ſtudy in the time of their miniſtration is not the whole of their employment. What then is allowable to one who is appointed to the prieſtly office at the ſeaſons when he is not engaged in his ſacred vocation? I am of opinion that a prieſt ſhould in every reſpect be immaculate, both by night and day; that he ſhould purify himſelf every night with thoſe luſtrations that our ordinances require; and that he ſhould confine himſelf within the precincts of the temple as many days as the laws enjoin. To us at Rome thirty days † are commanded; other places differ. All thoſe days he ſhould reſide, I think, and philoſophiſe in the temple; and not go either home, or to the forum; nor ſee even a magiſtrate, except in the temple; but take upon himſelf the ſuperintendence of divine worſhip, and inſpect and regulate the whole. Thoſe days being completed, when another has ſucceeded to his office, and he returns to the ordinary buſineſs of life, let him freely reſort

* Something here is wanting; I have ſupplied it by conjecture.

† It is remarkable that the leaſt reſidence enjoined by their local ſtatutes to the prebendaries in moſt of our cathedrals conſiſts of exactly the ſame number of days, viz. thirty. But their "ſtrict reſidence," as it is called, being in general indiſpenſible, of twenty-one days *in continuum*, is much leſs ſtrict than that of theſe Pagan prieſts, as it is ſatisfied by their appearing in their ſtalls once every day, and ſleeping in their houſes every night. Thirty days reſidence being enjoined (as above) at Rome to every prieſt, the number allotted to each temple muſt have been twelve at leaſt.

to

to the houſes of his friends, and, when he is invited, to the entertainments, not indeed of all, but of perſons whoſe characters are reſpectable. At ſuch times alſo there is no indecorum in his going, but rarely, to the forum; or in viſiting the duke * and præfect * of the province, and to the utmoſt of his power relieving the indigent.

Let me add, that I think it becoming for the prieſts to wear in the temple, during their miniſtration, a moſt magnificent habit, but out of it a common plain dreſs. For it is abſurd to pervert what is given us in honour of the Gods to the purpoſes of pride and vanity. And therefore in the forum we ſhould renounce our coſtly veſtments, and totally relinquiſh all oſtentation. The Gods, admiring the modeſty of Amphiaraus, though they had doomed that army to deſtruction, in which, appriſed of this decree, he ſerved, and therefore his fate was inevitable, removed him from this life to another, and gave him a divine inheritance. For when all the chiefs who beſieged Thebes inſcribed devices on their ſhields † before they were forged, and thus erected trophies, as it were, on the calamities of the Cadmeans ‡, this converſer with the Gods went on that expedition with armour unin-

* The military and civil commanders, the general and the governor. The former was ſtyled ἡγεμὼν, or *dux*.

† The oſtentatious devices, or armorial bearings of theſe chiefs, may be ſeen in Æſchylus.

‡ The Thebans, ſo called from Cadmus, the ſuppoſed founder of their city.

ſcribed *, ſo that even his enemies atteſted his clemency and moderation. Prieſts therefore, I think, ſhould [imitate his example †], in order to inſure the favour of the Gods. For we offend them not a little by expoſing to the populace the ſacred veſtments, and improperly divulging them to the public view as a wonderful ſight. From whence it happens, as we are approached by many who are impure, that the ſymbols of the Gods are defiled. But for us to wear the habit, and not to lead the lives, of prieſts, is in itſelf a ſummary

* Thus Æſchylus, in his Seven Chiefs againſt Thebes,

——————— with awful port the prophet
Advanc'd his maſſy ſhield, the ſhining orb
Bearing no impreſs; for his generous ſoul
Wiſhes to be, not to appear, the beſt §;
And from the culture of his modeſt worth
Bears the rich fruit of great and glorious deeds. POTTER.

As this modeſt and amiable augur was fighting bravely, the earth opened beneath him, and he deſcended alive to the infernal regions, with all his arms, and in his chariot. Statius has exerted the utmoſt force of his genius in deſcribing this righteous hero. *Ibid.*

Amphiaraus wearing his ſhield entirely plain is accounted for in the ſame manner by Euripides, who has imitated the above, in his Phœnician Virgins:

——————— no unſeemly pride
In his armorial bearings was expreſs'd,
But on his modeſt buckler there appear'd
A vacant field. WODHULL.

Homer ſtyles him, Odyſſ. xv. 245.

The people's ſaviour, and divinely wiſe,
Belov'd by Jove and him who gilds the ſkies. POPE, 274.

"By Jove," ſays Euſtathius, "becauſe he was a king, and by Apollo, becauſe he was a prophet."

† Some ſuch words are wanting here in the original.

§ *Eſſe quam videri.*

of

of every tranſgreſſion, and the greateſt contempt of the Gods. On that therefore I will be more particular.

I addreſs you on this ſubject, as I deem you a model. At obſcene theatrical entertainments let not a prieſt by any means be preſent; nor admit them in his own houſe; as nothing can be more unbecoming. And if ſuch exhibitions could be totally baniſhed from the ſtage, and if all houſes could be kept pure from Bacchus *, I would uſe my utmoſt endeavours to effect ſuch a reform. But as I think this ſcarce poſſible, and, if it were, that it might not be expedient, I have abandoned that vain purſuit. I think it, however, highly proper for prieſts to abſent themſelves from theatres, and to leave their laſciviouſneſs to the people. Let no prieſt therefore enter the theatre, nor form a friendly connection with any actor, or charioteer †, and

* That his own "cup" was "temperate" we have not only his own word (Epiſt. XLVI.) but that of his contemporaries. What he practiſed he had therefore a right to preach. St. Paul, in like manner, teaches his biſhops and deacons to be *not given to wine, to be lovers of hoſpitality, lovers of good men, juſt, holy, temperate*, &c. And, though omitted here, Julian directs his prieſts alſo to be *no ſtrikers*, in a particular Epiſtle (the LXIIId) on that ſubject.

† Thoſe who drove the chariots in the Circenſian or public games, whoſe company, like that of our *black legs*, was ſhunned by all who had a regard for their own reputation. Nero therefore could not more effectually degrade his own character than by aſſuming that. Had he been a Britiſh prince, he would have rid his own horſes at Newmarket, or driven a ſtage-coach on the road. Actors were viewed by Julian, and the lovers of decorum, in the ſame diſgrace.

and let no dancer or mimic approach his door. I allow the prieſts to go only, if they pleaſe, to the ſacred games; provided they are thoſe at which women are forbidden not only to enter the liſts *, but to be preſent. As to the hunting-matches which are exhibited in ſome cities within the theatres †, need I ſay, that from them not merely the prieſts, but even their ſons, ſhould be excluded?

diſgraceful light. Though Æſopus in extravagance might rival Cleopatra, neither he nor Roſcius was deemed, like our Garrick, a companion for prieſts and ſenators.

* Juvenal (Sat. I.) mentions the women in his time as ambitious of ſhewing their courage in encountering wild beaſts, though with the forfeiture of their modeſty.

Cum ——— ——— *Mævia Tuſcum*
Figat aprum, &c.
When —— the manniſh whore
Shakes her broad ſpear againſt the Tuſcan boar.
DRYDEN.

Martial compliments the emperor Domitian on the ſame account; and the women are expoſed by Juvenal (Sat. VI.) for engaging even as gladiators. KENNET.

† The *Venatio dirceptionis* ſeems to have been an inſtitution of the later Emperors. The middle part of the *Circus* being ſet all over with trees, removed thither by main force, and faſtened to huge planks, which were laid on the ground; theſe, being covered with earth and turf, repreſented a natural foreſt, into which the beaſts being let from the *caveæ*, or dens under ground, the people at a ſign given by the Emperor fell to hunting them, and carried away what they killed to regale upon at home. The beaſts uſually given were boars, deer, oxen, and ſheep. Ibid.

The amphitheatral beaſts ſometimes broke looſe from their dens, and made great havock in the city, as is mentioned by Pliny, Ammianus, and others.

For ſimilar hunting-matches in the Greek amphitheatres bears and panthers were provided, as Julian mentions in his xxxvth Epiſtle, for the Argives.

I ſhould

I ſhould perhaps have previouſly mentioned from whence, and how, the prieſts ſhould be choſen. But there is no impropriety in making this the cloſe of my diſcourſe. Let them conſiſt of perſons of the beſt characters in every city. In the firſt place, they ſhould be ardent lovers of the Gods; and, ſecondly, of mankind alſo *; of the poor as well as the rich. As to that, let no diſtinction be made between the noble and the mean. For he whom his modeſty ſequeſters is by no means to be rejected on account of the obſcurity of his merit. Therefore, though a man be poor, or a Plebeian, if he have theſe two endowments, love towards the Gods, and love towards men *, let him be elected into the prieſthood. His love towards the Gods will appear by his inſtructing his family in religious duties; and his love towards men by his diſtributing from a little liberally † to the neceſſitous, by giving with a willing mind, and endeavouring to do as much good as poſſible. But this part requires the utmoſt attention, as ſome preventive remedy muſt be provided.

* What are theſe but the two Chriſtian commandments, the love of God and of our neighbour, on which, ſays our Saviour, *hang all the law and the prophets?*

† Thus Tobit, iv. 8. *If thou haſt abundance, give alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little.*

Obſerving,

Obſerving, I ſuppoſe, that our prieſts neglect the poor *, the impious Galileans have adopted this philanthropy, and on the ſemblance of this duty have founded a moſt enormous crime; like thoſe who allure children with cakes, which having given them twice or thrice, they inveigle them from their parents, and, conveying them on ſhip-board, ſell them in diſtant countries; and thus for a tranſient ſweet the remainder of their lives is imbittered †. In the ſame manner, they, be-

* The author muſt have known, from the ſacred books which he read as lecturer in the church of Nicomedia, that this was an unfair repreſentation, and that the Chriſtians had a prior and much more cogent obligation in their divine law, whoſe characteriſtic is philanthropy and univerſal benevolence. But he is not aſhamed firſt to plunder and then to revile it.

† He inſinuates, that the Chriſtians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on ſhip-board, and devoted thoſe victims to a life of poverty or ſervitude, in a remote country. Had this charge been proved, it was his duty not to complain but to puniſh. GIBBON.

Though I have tranſcribed this note, I cannot aſſent to the conſtruction which the ingenious writer has put upon the ſentiments of Julian in the firſt part of it. The "inveigling of children," (above-mentioned) I apprehend to be only (as I have tranſlated it) "by way of ſimile;" nor is it ſaid or implied that Chriſtians only were the inveiglers. The ſimile, as uſual, begins with Ωσπερ ("As") and the application is made by Τον αυτον και αυλις τροπον ("They, in "like manner") ſo that the charge againſt the Chriſtians is confined to their charity and miniſtration to the poor (*Forgive* them *this wrong!*) for which indeed (as above remarked) Julian aſſigns an unworthy and diſingenuous motive, qualified by a "ſuppoſe" (οιμαι) which he could not really "ſuppoſe" to be true. But ready as he was to calumniate the faithful, let us not impute to him charges which he never brought.

ginning

ginning with what they call a love-feaſt, and a hoſpital *, and the miniſtry of tables † (for, as the work, ſo alſo is the word, frequent among them), pervert the faithful to impiety ‡. * * * * * *

* "Hoſpital" (υποδοχη) I have here reſtored to its original ſenſe, as derived from *hoſpitium*, a ſenſe which, from the diſuſe of ſuch charitable foundations for age and want, independently of accidents and diſeaſes, ſeems almoſt loſt amongſt us, the term being now generally confined to receptacles for caſualty and ſickneſs. But the hoſpitals eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors, in the true primitive ſpirit of the goſpel, at and near Canterbury, at Guildford, Croydon, &c. which are ſtill in being, were appropriated, in the former ſenſe, to the lodging and relief of the old and neceſſitous.

† Διακονιας τραπεζων. The ſame expreſſion is uſed by St. Luke, in Acts vi. 2.

From hence it appears, as has been related by Tertullian and others, that, on account chiefly of the poor, thoſe common tables, common banquets, κοιναι τραπεζαι, κοιναι ευωχιαι, as the ancient teachers of the Chriſtians afterwards called them, [miſprinted ευχωχιαι. See Athenæus, *l.* VIII. *c.* 16.] were furniſhed by the rich. And alſo, as is mentioned by Theophanes, that *xenodochia*, or receptacles, were built for receiving any foreign poor, whether Gentiles or Chriſtians; and in the ſame place he informs us of the certain quantity of corn which was diſtributed in the province of Galatia for the relief of ſtrangers and the poor.

SPANHEIM.

‡ The Fragment here ends abruptly. Other charges, equally abſurd, might perhaps follow; though, as this is ſtyled the "cloſe" of it (τους λογους λειξαι), it could not be much longer.

THE

THE CÆSARS *.

JULIAN. IT is the ſeaſon of the Saturnalia †; the God therefore allows us to be merry; but as I have no talent for the ludicrous, I am inclined, my friend, to blend wiſdom with mirth. Dec. 361.

FRIEND.

* Julian compoſed this ſatire after he was Emperor. I would ſay, that the friend with whom he converſes was either Salluſt the Second, or Salluſt præfect of Gaul, if the ſatire of the Cæſars were the ſame as the work, entitled, The Saturnalia, as he ſeems to ſay himſelf (*Orat.* IV.) that he had addreſſed that to Salluſt. But a paſſage in the Saturnalia, quoted by Suidas, and which is not in the Cæſars, proves that they were different works. [That paſſage is as follows: "But we believe Empedotimus ‡ "and Pythagoras, and what, derived from them, has been "delivered by Heraclides § of Pontus, and was lately "communicated to us by that excellent hierophant "Jamblichus."] It is needleſs to add that the word *Cæſar* here means *Emperor*. Even after that name had been appropriated to a new dignity, the Auguſti ſtill retained it, though thoſe who were only Cæſars never bore the name of Emperors or Auguſti. LA BLETERIE.

Julian compoſed this ſatire in the winter that he ſpent at Conſtantinople. SUIDAS.

† He wrote on Natural Hiſtory.

‡ Julian mentions him alſo in the Fragment, by the name of "the great Empedotimus," and claſſes him with Socrates and Dion, as being unjuſtly put to death.

§ A native of Heraclea in Pontus, a hearer of Plato, and Ariſtotle. He left ſeveral works, enumerated by Diogenes Laërtius, but all now loſt. A little treatiſe "on Commonwealths" is however aſcribed to him.

FRIEND. Can any one, Cæsar, be so absurd as to joke seriously? I always thought that this was intended only for relaxation, and to alleviate care.

JUL.

The book of Henry Stephens, preserved in the London library, mentions, in the Catalogue of his books, Συμποσιον, η Κρονια, ("The Banquet, or Saturnalia,") and does not name the Cæsars. PETAU.

The philosophical fable, which Julian composed under the name of the Cæsars, is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit. Spanheim, in his preface, has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *Satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy, and the Latin *Satires* (from *Satura)*, a miscellaneous composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them. The value of this agreeable composition is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure, or approbation, of his own conduct. GIBBON.

Thus agreeable, and thus instructive, it seems extraordinary that this should be the first attempt (at least I know of no other) to translate the Cæsars into English.

† The festivals of Saturn were instituted in the consulship of Sempronius Atratinus, and Minucius; or, according to others, in that of Titus Lartius. Others make them commence in the time of Janus, king of the Aborigines, who received Saturn in Italy, survived him, and placed him among the Gods. The better to represent that peace and abundance which were enjoyed in the reign of that God, these festivals passed in entertainments and rejoicings. The Romans quitted the *toga*, and appeared in public in an undress. They sent presents to each other as on new-year's day. Games of chance, forbidden at other times, were then allowed, the senate adjourned, the business of the bar ceased, and the schools were shut. The children proclaimed the festival by running through the streets, and crying *Io Saturnalia*. In ancient times it was held on the 17th of December, according to the year of Numa,

JUL. You are in the right; but that is by no means my diſpoſition; as I have never been addicted to ſcoffs, ſatire, or ridicule. In order, however, to comply with the ordinance of the God, ſhall I, by way of amuſement, repeat to you a fable, which you will not perhaps be diſpleaſed to hear?

FRIEND. You will oblige me. For I am ſo far from deſpiſing fables, that I value thoſe which have a moral tendency, being of the ſame opinion with you, and your, or rather our, Plato, who has diſcuſſed many ſerious ſubjects in fictions.

JUL. True.

FRIEND. But what, and whoſe, ſhall it be?

JUL. Not an ancient one, like thoſe of Æſop, but a fiction from Mercury. This I will repeat to you as I received it from that God, and whether it contain truth, or falſhood blended with truth, I will leave you to judge when you have heard it.

FRIEND. Enough, and more than enough, of preface. One would think you were going to deliver an oration rather than a fable. Now then proceed to the diſcourſe itſelf.

Numa, and continued only one day. Julius Cæſar, when he reformed the calendar, added two days to that month, which were inſerted before the Saturnalia, and given to that feſtival. Auguſtus afterwards added to it a fourth day, and the Emperor Caius a fifth, named *Juvenalia*. In theſe five days was included that which was appropriated to the worſhip of Rhea, called *Opalia*. There was afterwards celebrated for two days the feſtival in honour of Pluto, called *Sigillaria* (or feaſt of ſtatues) from ſome ſmall images that were offered to that God. All theſe feſtivals were appendages to the Saturnalia, which thus laſted ſeven whole days, from the 15th to the 21ſt of December. SANADON.

Jul. Attend.

Romulus, ſacrificing at the Saturnalia, invited all the Gods, and Cæſars alſo, to a banquet. Couches were prepared for the reception of the Gods on the ſummit of heaven, on

Olympus, the firm manſion of th' Immortals *.

Thither, it is ſaid, like Hercules, Quirinus aſcended. For thus, in compliance with the rumour of his divinity, we muſt ſtyle Romulus. Below the moon, in the higheſt region of the air, a repaſt was given to the Cæſars. Thither they were wafted, and there they were buoyed up, by the lightneſs of the bodies with which they were inveſted, and the revolution of the moon. Four couches †, of exquiſite workmanſhip, were ſpread for the ſuperior Deities. That of Saturn was formed of poliſhed ebony, which reflected ſuch a divine luſtre as was inſupportable. For on viewing this ebony the eye was as much dazzled by the exceſs of light, as it is by gazing ſtedfaſtly on the ſun. That of Jupiter was more ſplendid than ſilver, and too white to be gold, but whether this ſhould be called *electrum* ‡, or what other name ſhould

* Odyſſ. vi. 42.

† The Roman mode of reclining, at their meals, on beds or couches, is too well known to need explanation. Every couch held three.

‡ Pure gold was in uſe to the days of Alexander Severus, who permitted a fifth part of ſilver to be mixed with four parts of gold. This they called *electrum*; and, in conſequence of his regulations, medals were conſecrated to him as the reſtorer of the coin: a compliment due with equal juſtice

should be given it, Mercury, though he had enquired of the metallists, could not precisely inform me.

On each side of them sat on golden thrones the mother and the daughter, Juno near Jupiter, Rhea near Saturn. On the beauty of the Gods Mercury did not descant; as that, he said, transcended my faculties, and was impossible for him to express. For no terms level to my comprehension, however eloquent, could sufficiently extol or do justice to the inimitable beauty of the Gods.

Thrones, or couches, were prepared for all the other Deities, according to their seniority. As to this, there was no disagreement; for, as Homer, instructed, no doubt, by the Muses themselves, observes, "each God has his own throne assigned "him, where he is firmly and immoveably fixed *." When therefore they rise at the entrance of their Father, they never confound or change their seats, or infringe on those of others. Every one knows his proper station.

Thus all the Gods being seated in a circle, Silenus † fondly placed himself near young and beautiful

justice to the providence of the present most august Sovereign of Great Britain; who, in this and many other respects, may be compared to that most excellent and virtuous Emperor. CLARKE.

Julian (as will be observed in the sequel) has not done justice to this prince.

* I do not recollect this passage in Homer, nor has the Index of Seberus enabled me to find it.

† The mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil. GIBBON.

beautiful Bacchus (who was close to his father Jupiter), as his foster-father and governor, diverting the God, who is a lover of mirth and laughter, with his facetious and sarcastic sayings.

As soon as the table was spread for the Cæsars, the first who appeared was JULIUS CÆSAR. Such was his passion for glory, that he seemed willing to contend for dominion with Jupiter himself: Silenus, observing him, said, "Behold, Jupiter, one "who has ambition enough to endeavour to de-"throne you: He is, you see, strong and hand-"some, and, if he resembles me in nothing else, "his head, at least, is certainly the fellow of "mine *."

Amidst these jokes of Silenus, to which the Gods paid little attention, OCTAVIANUS entered. He assumed, like a camelion, various colours, at first appearing pale, then black, dark, and cloudy †, and,

Servius remarks that Virgil took the hint of his Silenus from Theopompus. According to our ideas of the Heathen Gods, the part assigned to him by Julian seems rather more suitable to Momus.

* It should be remembered that Silenus was represented very short, flat-nosed, with large eyes, and a fat paunch. Cæsar, on the contrary, was tall, well-made, and of a genteel shape. His aquiline nose, his piercing eyes, and his noble air seemed to announce the master of the world. But he was bald, like Silenus, which so much concerned him, that of all the distinctions that were lavished upon him by the Roman senate and people, none, it is said, gave him more pleasure than that of always wearing a crown of laurel. LE BLETERIE.

† This marks the various characters which the policy of Augustus knew how to assume, as occasion required; the supple-

and, at last, exhibiting the charms of Venus and the Graces. In the lustre of his eyes he seemed willing to rival the sun *; nor could any one encounter his looks. "Strange!" cried Silenus; "what a changeable creature is this! what mis-"chief will he do us!" 'Cease trifling,' said Apollo, 'after I have consigned him to Zeno, I will ex-'hibit him to you pure as gold. Hark ye,' added he to that philosopher; 'Zeno, undertake the care 'of my pupil †.' He, in obedience, suggesting to

suppleness with which he cringed at first to the republican party, his cruelty in the proscription, &c. his conduct compounded both of good and evil till he had destroyed the Triumvirs his collegues; and, lastly, the gentleness and equity of his government when he was absolute master. On his death-bed he asked his friends, whether he had performed his part well in the world; *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commodè transegisse?* He might have been answered, that the actor was inimitable, and that the piece would have been applauded without exception, if its beginning had been less tragical. *Ibid.*

* These particulars are found in Suetonius: "His "eyes were bright and lively, and he affected to have it "thought there was a certain divine vigour in them, and "was wonderfully pleased, if any one, when he looked "earnestly upon him, turned down his eyes to the ground, "as at the lustre of the sun." *Suet. Aug. c.* 79. *Ibid.*

This image employed by Julian, in his ingenious fiction, is just and elegant; but when he considers this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, he does too much honour to the power of philosophy and to Octavius. GIBBON.

† It is pretended that the conversation of the philosophers, in particular that of Athenodorus the Stoic, contributed greatly to correct the faults of Augustus. Athenodorus shall be mentioned in the close of these remarks. Let it be observed, by the way, that Julian places the philosophers in heaven, with the exception, no doubt, of Epicurus and Pyrrho, whose tenets he detested. LA BLETTERIE.

him a very few precepts, as if he had muttered the incantations of Zamolxis, soon rendered him wise and virtuous.

The third who approached was TIBERIUS, with a grave but fierce aspect, appearing at once both wise and martial. As he turned to sit down, his back displayed several scars, some cauteries and sores, severe stripes and bruises, scabs and tumours, imprinted by lust and intemperance. Silenus then saying,

" Far diff'rent now thou seemest than before *",

in a much more serious tone, ' Why so grave, my ' dear ?' said Bacchus. " That old satyr, " replied " he, has terrified me, and made me inadvertently " quote a line of Homer." ' Take care that he ' does not also pull your ears,' said Bacchus; ' for ' thus, it is said, he treated a certain grammarian †.'

" He

* Αλλοιος μοι, ξεινε, φανης νεον ἠ το παροιθεν.

This is what Telemachus says, in the XVIth book of the Odyssey, to his father Ulysses, whom he did not yet know, and in whose outward appearance Minerva had just wrought a metamorphosis. LA BLETERIE.

" Before," in English, is as equivocal as παροιθεν, in Greek. This the French translator, as he observes, could not retain, *auparavant* not signifying the same as *par devant*.

† This fact is unknown. But we know that Tiberius had at his table some men of learning (they were at that time distinguished by the name of grammarians), whom he delighted to embarrass by frivolous and absurd questions. He asked them, for instance, who was the mother of Hecuba; what name Achilles bore at the court of Lycomedes; what the Sirens sung, &c. Those who had the misfortune to displease this tyrant did not always escape so well as he whom Julian mentions. As the questions of

Tiberius

" He had better," returned Silenus, " bemoan " himſelf in his ſolitary iſland (meaning Capreæ) " and tear the face of ſome miſerable fiſherman *."

While they were thus joking, a dreadful monſter [CALIGULA] appeared. The Gods averting their eyes, Nemeſis delivered him to the avenging Furies, who immediately threw him into Tartarus, without allowing Silenus to accoſt him. But on the approach of CLAUDIUS, Silenus began to ſing the beginning of the part of Demoſthenes in the Knights of Ariſtophanes †, cajoling CLAU-

Tiberius often related to what he had read, the grammarian Seleucus took care to learn what books the Emperor was reading. Tiberius being appriſed of it, not contented with baniſhing him from the palace, forced him to deſtroy himſelf. *Suet. Tiber.* 70 and 56. LA BLETERIE.

* A few days after Tiberius had retired into the iſland of Capreæ, a fiſherman came over the rocks, and preſented him with a barbel of an extraordinary ſize. Tiberius, who thought himſelf in this retreat inacceſſible, being terrified at the boldneſs of this fiſherman, ordered his face to be ſcratched with his fiſh. And the poor man rejoicing that he had not alſo preſented him with a monſtrous crab that he had caught, Tiberius commanded his face to be torn with the crab. *Suet. Tib.* 60. *Ibid.*

† In the firſt ſcene of that comedy, whoſe object is to depreciate in the eyes of the people one Cleon, who had gained their entire confidence, Demoſthenes and Nicias, two Athenian generals, complain bitterly of the tyranny which this new-comer exerciſes in the houſe, meaning the ſtate, over the other ſlaves, that is, thoſe who had a ſhare in the government. " Alas! alas!" ſays Demoſthenes, " how much reaſon we have to complain! May the juſt " Gods confound that wicked Paphlagonian, both him and " his projects! That ſlave, lately purchaſed, ſince he has " been introduced into the family, inceſſantly beats the " ſervants."

CLAUDIUS. Then turning to Quirinus, "You "are unjuſt," ſaid he, "to invite your deſcendant "without his freed-men, Narciſſus and Pallas. "But, beſides them, you ſhould alſo ſend for his "wife Meſſalina, for without them, he appears "like guards in a tragedy, mute and inanimate."

While Silenus was ſpeaking, NERO entered, playing on his harp, and crowned with laurel. Silenus then turned to Apollo, and ſaid, "This man "makes you his model." 'I ſhall ſoon uncrown 'him,' replied Apollo: 'he did not imitate me in 'every thing, and when he did, he was a bad imi-'tator.' Cocytus therefore inſtantly ſwept him away, diveſted of his crown.

"ſervants." Among the Greeks, the term *Paphlagonian* was an affront; it meant a Barbarian, a blockhead, a ſtammerer. In every ſenſe it ſuited the Emperor Claudius, who was born in the Gauls; who, with ſome learning and genius, never reaſoned when he was in fear, and he was in fear during his whole life, even on the throne; and his words were ſo badly articulated, that he could ſcarce be underſtood. But the Paphlagonian of Ariſtophanes ill-treated the ſlaves; while the Paphlagonian of Silenus was governed and ill-treated by the ſlaves. Claudius was always the ſervant of his freed-men. He only complained of it, and that even in the ſenate. He ſaid there one day, ſpeaking of a certain freed-woman of his mother, "She "has always conſidered me as her maſter. I ſay it to her "commendation, becauſe there are at this time ſome in "my own family who do not think me their maſter." *Suet. Claud.* 39. The mixture of truth and irony, in the verſes of Ariſtophanes applied to Claudius, throws, I think, more humour into the pleaſantry of Silenus. M. Spanheim has but half underſtood it. LA BLETTERIE.

After him, seeing many come crowding together, VINDEX *, OTHO, GALBA, VITELLIUS, Silenus exclaimed; "Where, ye Gods, have you found "such a multitude of monarchs? We are suffocated "with smoke; for beasts of this kind spare not "even the temples of the Gods †." Jupiter then looked at his brother Serapis ‡, and said, pointing to VESPASIAN, 'Send this miser, as soon as possible, 'out of Ægypt, to extinguish these flames. Bid 'his eldest son [TITUS] solace himself with a profti-

* C. Julius Vindex, governor of Celtic Gaul, descended from the ancient kings of Aquitaine, was the first who revolted from Nero. Virginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, marched against him; but the two generals had a conference, in which they agreed against the tyrant: this, however, did not prevent the two armies from engaging, in spite of Virginius and Vindex, who could not restrain them. The latter was defeated, and killed himself in despair. Julian thinks that he designed to make himself Emperor. Yet he had written to Galba to offer him his forces and allegiance, if the latter would accept the empire. LA BLETERIE.

† Silenus has here chiefly in view the burning of the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was perpetrated under Vitellius, and by those of his party. This passage, which throws light on what Vespasian says afterwards, and to which the Latin translators, not even F. Petau, have attended, I have corrected from an excellent Greek MS. of the works of Julian. SPANHEIM.

‡ Julian (*Orat.* IV.) says, that "Serapis is the same "as Pluto," to whom he assigns some functions very different from those which are ascribed to him by the poets. Here Jupiter addresses himself to Serapis, because Vespasian was first acknowledged by the legions that were in Ægypt, and proclaimed in Alexandria, July 1, 69. The years of his reign are reckoned from this day. Besides, it is pretended that this prince had received several striking marks of the protection of Serapis. *Tacit. Ann.* IV. 81. LA BLETERIE.

' tute *, but chain his younger ſon [DOMITIAN †],
' near the Sicilian tyger ‡.'

Then

* Μέλα της Αφροδίλης της παιδημε, *cum Venere publicâ*. The manners of Titus, before he was Emperor, were far from irreproachable. See *Suct. Tit.* 7. His paſſion for Berenice was very ſcandalous. The tragedy of Racine has long accuſtomed the French to conſider her as a virtuous princeſs, worthy to aſcend the throne of the Cæſars. Great poets ſometimes determine reputations unjuſtly. Virgil and Racine have made two celebrated queens what they were not. The prudence of Berenice was always very equivocal at leaſt. She became a widow very young; and her zeal for the Jewiſh religion, which ſhe profeſſed, did not prevent her being accuſed of entertaining more than friendſhip for her brother Herod Agrippa. In order to put a ſtop to a report ſo injurious to her honour, ſhe married Polemon, king of Cilicia, after having obliged him to embrace Judaiſm; but ſhe did not live long with him, and left him, it is ſaid, through libertiniſm. This account, taken from Joſephus, makes me ſuſpect that ſhe is principally alluded to by Silenus, under the name of *Venus publica*. If the colours ſeem too ſtrong, let it be remembered, that thoſe of ſatire in general, and of this in particular, are not always exact. Is Julian, for inſtance, excuſable in ſaying nothing of the good qualities of Titus, and in characteriſing him only by one vice, which ought ſcarce to be admitted into his portrait, even by way of ſhade, as he was diveſted of it when he was Emperor? "This report," ſays Suetonius, "turned to his advantage, and was afterwards changed into the higheſt praiſes; when there was "found in him no one vice, but, on the contrary, the moſt "conſummate virtues. . . . . He immediately diſmiſſed "Berenice from the city, with the utmoſt reluctance "on both ſides." All that can be ſaid in excuſe of Julian is, that the reign of Titus was ſo ſhort, that one cannot venture to affirm, that his manners were really changed. This was probably the idea of the poet Auſonius, when he ſtyled him "happy in not having reigned "long:" *Felix brevitate regendi*. LA BLETERIE.

The reverſe of this, *Infelix brevitate regendi*, M. de la Bleterie applies to Jovian, as a motto to his Hiſtory of that prince.

The

Then came an old man [NERVA §], of a beautiful aſpect (for even old age is ſometimes beautiful), in his manners moſt gentle, and in his adminiſtration mild. With him Silenus was ſo delighted, that he remained ſilent. 'What!' ſaid Mercury, 'have you nothing to ſay of this man?' "Yes, "by Jupiter," he replied; "for I charge you all "with partiality, in ſuffering that blood-thirſty "monſter to reign fifteen years, but this man "ſcarce a whole year." 'Do not complain,' anſwered Jupiter; 'many good princes ſhall ſuc-'ceed him.'

TRAJAN immediately entered, bearing on his ſhoulders the Getic ‖ and Parthian trophies. Silenus, obſerving him, ſaid, in a low voice, but loud enough to be heard, "Our lord Jupiter muſt "now be careful, or he will not be able to keep "Ganymede to himſelf." After him advanced a

† The cruelties of Domitian are well known.

‡ Phalaris.

§ Nerva, when he was raiſed to the empire, was ſixty-three years old, at leaſt. LA BLETERIE.

‖ Though the name of Getes was given more peculiarly to the nations beyond the Danube, who bordered on the mouths of that river, the Greeks gave the ſame name alſo to the Dacians, that is, the Tranſylvanians, the Wallachians, and the Moldavians. Trajan ſubdued them. In his reign the power of the Romans was at the greateſt height it had ever attained. In the North, he reduced Dacia to a province. In the Eaſt, he made himſelf maſter of Armenia, Meſopotamia, and Aſſyria. The Parthians, to whom he had given a king, were in ſome ſort become ſubject to the Romans. *Ibid.*

venerable

venerable ſage [HADRIAN], with a long beard *; an adept in muſic, gazing frequently on the heavens, and

* Hadrian was the firſt of the Emperors who wore a beard. "He let his grow," ſays Spartianus, "in order to "conceal ſome natural deformity;" *ut vulnera, quæ in facie naturalia erant, tegeret.* In reading the hiſtory of Hadrian, and even the little which Julian ſays of him in this ſatire, I am ſtruck with ſome marks of reſemblance between theſe two Emperors. They had both as much genius as it was poſſible to have, and of the ſame kind. They were greedy of glory, jocoſe, and ſarcaſtic, fond to extravagance of the Greeks and the Grecian literature, both friends of the arts and ſciences, both authors, both full of zeal for idolatry, ſuperſtitious, perſecutors, aſtrologers, deſirous of knowing every thing, perpetually inquiſitive, ſo as to be accuſed of magic, fickle, obſtinate, ſingular, and vain of being ſo. They both made very wiſe laws, and performed many acts of mercy. Hadrian ſometimes ſeemed cruel, and it is ſaid that Julian was humane only through vanity. Julian had not the infamous vices of Hadrian, and was not even ſuſpected of them; but he had almoſt all his faults and abſurdities. LA BLETERIE.

More ſtriking to me are ſome marks of reſemblance which may be traced between this Imperial ſophiſt and the royal philoſopher of Sans-ſouci. Both are authors of no ſmall repute in various branches of literature. The Memoirs of himſelf and his family, which Julian has inſerted in his Epiſtle to the Athenians, may be compared with thoſe of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, and the Hiſtory of his Gallic campaigns, now loſt, but mentioned by Libanius, with the Commentaries, yet unpubliſhed, of the Pruſſian monarch. That Julian was a poet as well as Frederick, appears from a collection of his verſes mentioned alſo by Libanius, (*Orat. parent.* p. 161.) though two ſmall pieces (which I have quoted and tranſlated in the notes on the Miſopogon), are all that now remain. Both ſolaced their leiſure with the charms of muſic. The epiſtles of both have an air of familiar elegance. If the Cæſar lamented the loſs of his friend Salluſt, recalled by his jealous couſin, the prince deplored the fate of his favourite Kat, condemned to death by his cruel father. Both were married, early in life,

and curiously investigating the abstrusest subjects *. "What," said Silenus, think you of this Sophist? "Is he looking for Antinous †? If so, one of "you may tell him that the youth is not here,

life, by their predecessors, to princesses not of their own choice, yet neither of them was ever charged with any illicit amour. "The chastity of Julian," says Mr. Gibbon, "is confirmed by the impartial testimony of "Ammianus, and by the partial silence of the Christians." "Fortune," said the Prussian hero, after his defeat at Kolin, "is a female, and I am no gallant." The Roman carried the simplicity of his dress to an indecent extravagance; his beard and its inhabitants, his inky nails, &c. are recorded by himself. The German, by the scantiness of his wardrobe, his boots, and his snuff, as Dr. Moore informs us, is almost as singular in these more polished times. Early attached to Grecian literature, Julian neglected and despised the language and writers of Italy. Equally enamoured of the French language, Frederick has always professed a kind of aversion for those of Germany. If the Emperor invited Maximus, Priscus, and other Platonists from Greece, the King sent for Voltaire, Maupertuis, and other academicians from France. In war too, as well as in literature, these heroes have acted a distinguished but not always a successful part. In two particulars, however, they materially differ: Julian was a superstitious Pagan: Of Paganism or superstition Frederick has never been suspected; yet the former believed the immortality of the soul, which, it appears from his Epistle to Marshal Keith, &c. the latter does not.

* It is said, that Julian here meant to describe himself. He informs us (*Orat.* IV.) that "from his infancy, he "stopped to contemplate the stars with so much pleasure, "that he was even then deemed an astrologer (ἀστρομανὴς) "though he did not yet know what astrology was." Is the title of *curiositatis omnis explorator*, which Hadrian so justly deserved, and that of "Sophist," less applicable to the censor of Hadrian? LA BLETERIE.

† The deification of Antinous, his medals, statues, temples, city, oracles, and constellation, are well known, and still dishonour the memory of Hadrian. GIBBON.

"and

" and thus check his madneſs and folly." To theſe ſucceeded a man of moderation, not in venereal * but political purſuits [ANTONINUS PIUS.] Silenus, on ſeeing him, exclaimed, " Strange! " how important is he in trifles! This old man " ſeems to me one of thoſe who would harangue " about a pin's point †.

At the entrance of two brothers, MARCUS AURELIUS and LUCIUS VERUS, Silenus contracted his brow, as he could by no means jeer or deride them ‡.

MARCUS,

* Our ſatyr here obliquely charges Antoninus Pius with laſciviouſneſs; an imputation which was not true, it being certain that that Emperor was temperate and chaſte. But he ſeems to have been accuſed, though not juſtly, of avarice, for adopting, when he was Emperor, the ſimple diet and parſimony of a private ſubject. PETAU.

Titus Antoninus, ſurnamed *Pius*, that is, " the good," was one of the greateſt and beſt princes that the Romans had. Pauſanias juſtly ſays, that " he deſerved not only " the name of Pius; but alſo that of Father of Mankind, " which was formerly given to Cyrus." Antoninus had in fact the frailties with which Silenus reproaches him; but he early corrected them. LA BLETERIE.

† Εἰς τῶν διαπριόντων τὸν κυμινον. " One that cuts cumin;" which ſeems analogous to our Engliſh phraſe of " ſkinning " a flint." This we apply, however, only to miſers; but, as M. de la Bleterie obſerves, " that of the Greeks refers " not only to avarice, but a littleneſs of mind. Anto- " ninus was generous, but not at the expence of any other " perſon; *largus ſui, alieni abſtinens.*" Our " ſplitting a " hair" may perhaps come nearer to it.

‡ They were brothers only by adoption. Silenus had too much to ſay of Lucius Verus. Indeed he was a good-natured prince, a ſincere friend, and incapable of diſguiſe. He always conſidered himſelf as the lieutenant rather than the collegue of his brother. But he indulged himſelf without moderation, in all kinds of debaucheries, and was

MARCUS, in particular, though he ſtrictly ſcruti-niſed his conduct with regard to his ſon and his wife *; as to her, in his immoderate grief for her death, though ſhe little deſerved it; as to him, in hazarding the ruin of the empire by preferring him to a diſcreet ſon-in-law †, who would have made a better prince, and ſtudied the advantage of his ſon more than he did himſelf. Notwithſtanding theſe failings, Silenus could not but admire his exalted virtue. Thinking his ſon ‡ [COMMODUS] unworthy of any ſtroke of wit, he ſilently diſmiſſed him. And he, not being able to ſupport himſelf, or aſſociate with the heroes, fell down to the earth.

a ſlave to the miniſters of his pleaſures. Excepting that he was not cruel, that he did not drive chariots in the circus, nor act on the ſtage, he much reſembled Nero.

LA BLETERIE.

* The greateſt and perhaps the only fault of Marcus Aurelius was his exceſſive good-nature, which made him blind or too indulgent as to his brother, Lucius Verus, his wife, the too famous Fauſtina, and his ſon, Commodus. We ſhall mention him more than once in the ſequel. *Ibid.*

† Claudius Pompeianus, originally of Antioch, and ſon only of a Roman knight, but a man of extraordinary merit. Marcus Aurelius cauſed him twice to be nominated conſul, and gave him in marriage his daughter Lucilla, the relict of Lucius Verus. *Ibid.*

‡ One of the moſt wicked princes that ever reigned. "The "enemy of the Gods and of his country, the parricide, the "executioner of the ſenate, the gladiator, more cruel than "Domitian, more infamous than Nero," is part of the funeral elogium which the ſenate made on Commodus. This aſſembly, which thought it had always a right to ſit in judgment on the Emperors, would have ordered his body to be thrown into the Tiber, had not Pertinax prevented it. *Ibid.*

PERTINAX then approached, ſtill lamenting the mortal wound that he received at a banquet *. This excited the compaſſion of Nemeſis, who ſaid, "The authors of this deed ſhall not long exult; "but, PERTINAX, you were culpable † in being "privy to the conſpiracy that deſtroyed the ſon "of MARCUS." He was ſucceeded by SEVERUS ‡, a prince inexorable in puniſhing. 'Of him,' ſaid Silenus, 'I have nothing to ſay; for I am terrified 'by his ſtern and implacable looks.' His ſons would have accompanied him, but Minos prevented them, and kept them at a diſtance. With a prudent diſtinction, however, he diſmiſſed the youngeſt

* The ſenate and people flattered themſelves with having again found Marcus Aurelius in Pertinax; but he only reigned eighty-ſeven days. The Prætorian guards, who could not bear an Emperor ſo different from Commodus, maſſacred him in the palace. LA BLETERIE.

† The reproof given him by Silenus [rather Nemeſis] for being concerned in the conſpiracy of Letus and Marcia ſeems not well founded; but Julian perhaps follows ſome hiſtorian unknown to us. The death of Pertinax was revenged by Didius Julianus, who put Letus and Marcia to death; and by Severus, who caſhiered the Prætorians. Julian is right in not naming among the Emperors Didius Julianus, worthy of eternal oblivion, for buying the empire which the Prætorian guards had put up to auction. *Ibid.*

‡ Severus was perhaps the moſt warlike of all the Emperors. Like Hannibal an African, he had all his virtues; but he had alſo all the vices which the Romans aſcribe to the Carthaginian general. What Sylla ſaid of himſelf may be ſaid of Severus; "no one was a better friend or a worſe enemy." *Ibid.*

[GETA],

[GETA], and ordered the eldeſt [CARACALLA] to be puniſhed for his crimes *.

That crafty murderer MACRINUS †, and the youth of Emeſa ‡ [ELAGABALUS], were driven from the ſacred incloſure. But ALEXANDER THE SYRIAN §, being placed in the hinder ranks, bewailed

* The antipathy of Caracalla and Geta is well known. The latter ſeemed to have ſome good qualities. The former ſtabbed his brother in the arms of Julia, their common mother, who herſelf received a wound in the hand. He was as wicked, and almoſt as ſtupid, as Caligula. He was a profeſſed enemy to men of learning. LA BLETERIE.

† Macrinus, Prætorian præfect, knowing that Caracalla intended to kill him, cauſed that prince to be aſſaſſinated, on the road from Edeſſa to Carræ. The army, who did not think him guilty of that murder, choſe him Emperor; and their choice was confirmed by the Senate. But fourteen months after, Varius Avitus Baſſianus, afterwards known by the name of Elagabalus, having aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, marched againſt him, and attacked him on the borders of Syria and Phœnicia. Macrinus ſhamefully fled, while the event of the battle was yet undetermined. Endeavouring to eſcape into Europe, he was overtaken by his purſuers, and put to death. *Ibid.*

‡ Elagabalus was of Emeſa in Syria, the ſon of Varius Marcellus, a Roman ſenator, by Soëmia, the daughter of Mæſa, ſiſter to the Empreſs Julia. He may in ſome manner be conſidered as the nephew of Caracalla. He pretended even to be his ſon. All the infamous, extravagant, and cruel practices that can be committed by a young man without genius, taſte, or the leaſt ſpark of virtue or ſentiment, who, to indulge his caprice, endeavours to exhauſt the power and wealth of a Roman Emperor; this is an abſtract of the reign of that prince, or, to ſpeak more properly, that monſter. *Ibid.*

§ Alexander Severus is conſidered by many, even at preſent, as a moderate prince, *magis extra vitia quàm cum virtutibus*, of a narrow genius, timid, the ſlave of an imperious mother, &c. He owes this reputation to the hiſtory

wailed his misfortune. Silenus added, "O thou "fool and madman! highly exalted as thou wert, "thou didſt not govern for thyſelf, but gaveſt

of Herodian, an author by no means exact, but agreeable and intereſting, whom two tranſlations, one in Latin, the other in French, as good at leaſt as the original, have put within the reach of every one. Herodian diſcovers an extravagant prejudice againſt the Emperor Alexander, for which we might perhaps be able to account, if the hiſtorian were known to us otherwiſe than by his work. It were to be wiſhed that a pen as brilliant as his would endeavour to re-eſtabliſh the memory of a prince in all reſpects the moſt amiable and accompliſhed that is mentioned in ancient hiſtory. He wanted neither courage nor firmneſs. If he had a great deference for his mother Mamméa, it was as much owing to his diſcernment as to his gratitude and tenderneſs for her. The œconomy with which they are reproached was a virtue more neceſſary than ever in the ſtate to which the ſenſeleſs prodigality of Elagabalus had reduced the finances. Alexander died at twenty-nine years of age, and conſequently was younger than Trajan, T. Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius were when they aſcended the throne; and yet he deſerves at leaſt to be compared with them. Julian has followed the Memoirs of Herodian; and, beſides, it ſhould not be forgotten, that Mamméa was probably a Chriſtian; that Alexander, inſtead of perſecuting the Chriſtians, worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe ſtatue he honoured, in his oratory, with thoſe of Apollonius Tyanæus, Abraham, and Orpheus; that he had a deſign of building a temple to Jeſus Chriſt, and of cauſing him to be received among the deities adored by the Romans. This was more than ſufficient to make Alexander deſpiſed by Julian. Among the ſtrokes of ſatire which are couched under the name of *Syrian*, which he gives to the ſon of Mamméa, and which, however, he did not deſerve, except by his birth, I have no doubt that Julian includes the character of a worſhipper of Jeſus Chriſt. We know that Judea, where the Chriſtian religion had its riſe, was an appendage of Syria, and that the diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt were firſt ſtyled Chriſtians at Antioch.

LA BLETERIE.

" thy wealth to thy mother, and could'ſt not be " perſuaded that it was much better to beſtow it " on thy friends than to hoard it *." ' All, how-

' ever,'

* MAXIMIN, of the Gothic nation, the firſt of the Barbarians of the North, whom I find inveſted with the Roman dignities, made a ſenator by Alexander, and commanding ſome troops, conſpired againſt his benefactor, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated near Mentz, and uſurped the ſupreme power. This Maximin was a kind of giant, being eight feet high, and with ſtrength proportioned to his ſtature; he was a great warrior, but ſo cruel and blood-thirſty, that he was named Cyclops and Phalaris. He obliged the whole empire to revolt againſt him, and, with his ſon, was at length ſlain by the ſoldiers, who thus revenged the death of Alexander.

It is ſurpriſing that Julian ſays not a ſingle word of any of the Emperors who reigned from Alexander to Valerian; namely, PUPIENUS and BALBINUS, GORDIAN the younger, the two PHILIPS, TRAJAN-DECIUS, and Æmilian. If he had omitted only the two firſt Gordians, and ſome others, Æmilian, for inſtance, it might be ſuppoſed that he conſidered them only as the phantoms of Emperors. Yet ſtill they deſerved to be named as much as Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and more ſo than Vindex. Will it be ſaid, that ſome of them were unworthy to reign? Yet others were worthy; and, beſides, Julian has juſt mentioned Elagabalus. Will it be ſaid, that all thoſe princes had a tragical end? But he preſently introduces Valerian. It may alſo be obſerved, that Julian appears to have eſteemed the younger Gordian by offering ſacrifices and libations on his tomb, while he was marching againſt the Perſians.

In the IVth century, at leaſt, it was ſaid, that the Emperor Philip the father had been a Chriſtian; and that he had ſubmitted to public penance; a tradition the more ſtriking, as the Chriſtians had little intereſt in claiming the murderer of Gordian. The Chriſtianity of Philip, real or pretended, and the manner ſo unchriſtian in which he arrived at the throne, might have ſupplied the Silenus of Julian with ſome ſingular ſtrokes. Trajan-Decius would have been reckoned among the good princes, if he had

'over,' said Nemesis, 'who were accessary to his 'death, I will deliver to the tormentors.' And thus the youth was dismissed.

GALLIENUS then entered, with his father [VALERIAN], the latter dragging the chain of his captivity, the other effeminate both in his dress and behaviour. Silenus thus ridiculed the father:

"——— By those snowy plumes distinguish'd,
"Before the ranks who marches in the van *."

And

not been a persecutor of the Christians; and doubtless it is not on that account that Julian erases him from the list of Emperors. Certain it is that no satisfactory reason can be assigned for all these omissions. It seems therefore very probable to me that the text is here mutilated. It is not the only chasm that I think I perceive in the satire of the Cæsars. LA BLETERIE.

* Wodhull's translation.

These two verses are taken from the Phœnician Virgins of Euripides. By ὁ λευκολοφας, "with the white plume," I imagine that Silenus alludes to the age and white hairs of Valerian. No one is unacquainted with his captivity, any more than the barbarity with which he was treated by Sapor I. Upon a false report of the death of Valerian, the Romans placed him among the Gods. Thus this unfortunate prince had altars in Rome, while in Persia he was trodden under foot. He was perhaps flead alive. Certain it is, that the Persians tanned his skin, dyed it red, and covered it with straw, in order to preserve it in a temple. Valerian had some excellent qualities; and his fate would perhaps have had more claim to pity, if he had not deserved it by shedding the blood of the Christians. The most dreadful circumstance of his misfortune was, the having on the throne a son who did not send even to demand his release. "He would have been revenged," says M. de Tillemont, "if he had not had a son." When Gallienus was informed of the imprisonment of his father, he answered by an apophthegm; "I knew that my father "was liable to the misfortunes of human nature." How

much

And to the ſon he ſaid,

" Him gold adorns, all dainty as a bride *."

Jupiter ordered them both to depart from the banquet †.

They were ſucceeded by CLAUDIUS ‡, on whom all the Gods fixed their eyes, admiring his magnanimity,

much are princes to be pitied! The flatterers of Gallienus diſcovered philoſophy, and even heroiſm, in the indifference of this unnatural ſon. LA BLETERIE.

* This is an imitation of a line of Ariſtophanes, in his comedy of The Birds. Gallienus was a cowardly, ſlothful, effeminate prince, a good orator, a good poet, but a very bad emperor. While he was engaged in his debaucheries, and amuſing himſelf in ſome miſplaced ſtudies, in ſome effuſion of wit, in making ſome pretty verſes, or uttering ſome good jokes on the loſs of provinces, Italy itſelf was ravaged by the Barbarians. Without reckoning Zenobia and Odenathus, eighteen uſurpers aſſumed the purple. Gallienus, to prevent ſuch revolts, excluded the ſenators from all military employments; a fatal policy, which, in the ſequel, contributed to raiſe to the throne mere cyphers, men who had nothing Roman but the name. In ſhort, the reign of Gallienus is the æra of the fall of the empire, which never perfectly recovered the violent ſhocks which it then received. *Ibid.*

† Gallienus deſerved to be excluded. But Julian ſeems to repreſent the Gods as ungrateful. Ought they thus to treat the fate of the unfortunate Valerian, who was ſo zealous for their worſhip? Misfortune, after all, is not a crime. But it ſhould be remembered that Valerian was taken by his own fault, and that, according to the Pagan ideas, being a priſoner, he ought to have ſhortened his diſgrace, and not have ſurvived his liberty. When Perſeus, king of Macedonia, applied to Paulus Æmilius not to lead him in triumph, the Roman conſidered him as a coward, and anſwered, " That depended, and ſtill depends, on himſelf." *Ibid.*

‡ Claudius II. had every civil virtue and military talent. His reign laſted only two years; but he ſignaliſed it by a great

nanimity, and granted the empire to his deſcendants, thinking it juſt that the poſterity of ſuch a lover of his country ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty as long as poſſible *.

After him entered AURELIUS †, as if to eſcape thoſe who were accuſing him before Minos. For many

great victory gained over the Germans, and by the defeat of 320,000 Goths. It is ſaid, that he devoted himſelf for the ſafety of his country. This devotement (if we underſtand by it a ſolemn devotement, like that which the Decii made of their perſons in the time of the republic) is a fiction, contrary to the relation of the beſt hiſtorians, who ſay, that Claudius died of a peſtilential fever at Sirmium. Julian, however, manifeſtly alludes to it. He believed, or was willing to believe, an incident ſo honourable to the memory of Claudius, whom he conſidered as the founder of his family. Conſtantius-Chlorus, the grandfather of Julian, was the ſon of Claudia, the daughter of Criſpus, one of the brothers of Claudius II. The ſurname of Conſtantine came from the family of Claudius, as he had a ſiſter named Conſtantina. Julian paſſes over Quintillus, the brother and ſucceſſor of Claudius, becauſe he reigned only twenty days at moſt. LA BLETERIE.

In his firſt oration in praiſe of Conſtantius, Julian celebrates alſo "the eminent virtues" of their common anceſtor the Emperor Claudius; "the battles which he fought with "the Barbarians beyond the Danube, his condeſcending "manners, and that modeſty of dreſs which was ſtill ob"ſervable on his ſtatues."

* In Julian this was not adulation, but ſuperſtition and vanity. GIBBON.

† Aurelian, the conqueror of the Barbarians, of Zenobia, and of Tetricus, completed the recovery of what Gallienus had loſt. If he did the ſtate too many ſervices to be placed in the rank of bad princes, he was too ſevere and too cruel to be reckoned among the good. He was born in Pannonia, or Dacia, of a very obſcure family. The mother of Aurelian, prieſteſs of the Sun in her village, inſpired her ſon, no doubt, with the zeal which he always profeſſed

many charges of murder, which he could not palliate or excuſe, were brought againſt him. But my Lord the Sun *, who had patroniſed him on other occaſions, aſſiſted him alſo on this, by informing the Gods, that the Delphic oracle

"That he who evil does, ſhould evil ſuffer,
"Is righteous judgment,"

had been fulfilled.

The next was Probus, who in leſs than ſeven years re-built ſeventy cities, and alſo enacted many wiſe laws. Having ſuffered unjuſtly, he was honoured by the Gods, and his death was revenged by the puniſhment of his murderers. Silenus, nevertheleſs, endeavoured, in like manner, to ridicule him; and many of the Gods urging him to be ſilent, "Let thoſe who ſhall follow," ſaid

ſolſed for that God. He choſe him for his tutelar deity, as Julian did afterwards.

Tacitus, a prince truly reſpectable, and worthy of the ſenate who choſe him, ought to have been placed at the feaſt of the Cæſars. Nevertheleſs, he is not even named. Is the omiſſion owing to Julian, or the tranſcribers? As Tacitus reigned only ſix months, I will not venture to determine. As to his brother, Florian, who reigned only three, or perhaps two, and who, beſides, took poſſeſſion of the empire, as of an inheritance, without being choſen by the ſenate, or even propoſed by the army, he deſerved to be omitted. La Bleterie.

* Aurelian adored that Deity as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior prieſteſs in a chapel of the Sun: a peculiar devotion to the God of light was a ſentiment which the fortunate peaſant imbibed in his infancy, and every ſtep of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified ſuperſtition by gratitude. Gibbon.

he,

he, "grow wiser by his example. Doſt thou "not know, O PROBUS, that phyſicians make bitter "potions palatable, by infuſing them in mead? "But thou, who wert always ſo ſevere and cruel "that none could equal thee *, haſt ſuffered, how- "ever unjuſtly, in like manner. For no one can "govern brutes, much leſs men, but by ſometimes "gratifying and indulging them; as phyſicians "humour their patients in trifles, that they may "inſure their compliance in things eſſential." 'What! dear father,' ſaid Bacchus; 'do you now 'play the philoſopher upon us?' "Why not?" replied Silenus. "Were not you, too, my ſon, "inſtructed by me in philoſophy? Know you not "that Socrates alſo held, like me, the firſt rank "in philoſophy among his contemporaries, if you "credit the oracle of Delphi? Allow me therefore "to ſpeak not always jocoſely, but ſometimes "ſeriouſly."

While they were thus talking, CARUS with his ſons [CARINUS and NUMERIAN] would have

* This cenſure of Silenus is extravagant. Probus can only be reproached for having enforced military diſcipline with a ſtrictneſs of which the Roman armies were no longer capable. In time of peace he employed them in uſeful labours. One day happening to ſay inadvertently, that "there ſhould ſoon be no more need of ſoldiers," this expreſſion coſt him his life. The ſame army, however, who had murdered him, erected a monument to him, with this inſcription: *Hic Probus Imperator et verè Probus ſitus eſt, victor omnium gentium barbararum, etiam tyrannorum.*

LA BLETERIE.

entered,

entered, had not Nemesis repulsed them *. Diocletian †, accompanied by the two Maxi-

* History represents Carus as a prince above mediocrity: *virum medium, inter bonos, magis quàm inter malos, collocandum.* But he had the misfortune to succeed Probus, and to have Carinus for his son. On the other hand, he defeated the Persians, and took Seleucia and Ctesiphon, when a flash of lightning terminated his conquests and his life. It must not, however, be said that the sentence of Julian is too severe, as Carus dared to assume, or suffered flattery to give him, the title of "Lord and God." Besides, Julian thought perhaps that Carus was guilty of the death of his predecessor Probus; but the fact is at least doubtful. His second son, Numerian, was not unworthy of a place at the banquet. History speaks of him advantageously. As to what is said of Carinus, the justice of Nemesis cannot but be applauded. La Bleterie.

† Diocletian reigned for twenty years with great prosperity and address; but he disgraced the latter part of his reign by the most barbarous of all persecutions. He was a soldier of fortune, and having learned nothing but the art of war, he was a profound politician, and had a subtle genius that penetrated every thing, but was itself impenetrable. He always attended to what was solid. His projects, though grand and vast, were never chimerical, unless it were that of extinguishing the Christian name; yet of that he was not the author. He had the art of doing good himself, and of employing others to do evil. Being master of his passions, he could disguise all his vices, except pride, which made him introduce into the court of the emperors the ceremonial of the court of Persia. He should be considered as the founder of a new empire, which had not, it may be said, any thing in common with that which was founded by Augustus, but the name. The effective partition of the provinces subject to the Romans annihilated the ancient plan, and gave the finishing stroke to the senate, which till then had always had an influence in public affairs, and whose authority was much restored after the death of Aurelian. The aversion of Diocletian to the city of Rome prepared the great event of the foundation of Constantinople. *Ibid.*

MIANS,

MIANS, and my grandfather CONSTANTIUS *, then approached, magnificently dreſſed. Theſe, though they held each other by the hand, did not walk on a line with DIOCLETIAN. Three others † alſo fur-

* Conſtantius-Chlorus.

† Diocletian firſt divided the empire with Maximian, afterwards ſurnamed Herculius, his old friend, a great general, very liberal, and not deficient in genius; but unpoliſhed and cruel, without education, and without manners. They gave in conjunction the title of Cæſar to Conſtantius-Chlorus and Maximian-Galerius, and divided the Roman empire, which was governed by two Emperors and two Cæſars, into four parts.

Conſtantius-Chlorus was the only one of the four who was of high birth. With all the talents of his collegues, he had none of their faults. His ſole ambition was to make his people happy. No prince ever loved money ſo little, or was ſo much loved by his ſubjects. Through fear of oppreſſing them, he denied himſelf neceſſaries. Such is the picture that is drawn of him even by the authors who have written ſince his family has been extinct.

As for Maximian-Galerius, ſurnamed *Armentarius*, or "the Herdſman," he was rather a Barbarian than a Roman. He had great talents for war, and all imaginable vices, which he nevertheleſs concealed a little; ſo much was he afraid of Diocletian. He had almoſt an equal hatred to the Chriſtian religion and to learning, and forced Diocletian to become a perſecutor. Theſe four princes governed with a perfect union, whoſe tie was the reſpect which Maximian-Herculius, and the two Cæſars, had for Diocletian, whom they regarded as their father, and almoſt as their God. Diocletian, on his ſide, did not exalt himſelf above them; and, in particular, he took care to ſtifle bad reports. What Julian here ſays of the modeſty of that prince and his collegues admits, however, of ſome exception. Diocletian ſometimes treated Galerius with great haughtineſs; and Galerius, tired of trembling before him, made him tremble in his turn, and forced him to abdicate the empire. Diocletian and Herculius quitted the purple on the ſame day; the firſt at Nicomedia, and the other

surrounded him, in the manner of a chorus; but when, like harbingers, they would have preceded him, he forbade them, not thinking himself entitled to any distinction. Transferring only to them a burthen which he had borne on his own shoulders, he walked with much greater ease. Admiring their union, the Gods assigned them a seat superior to many. But MAXIMIAN * behaving with imprudence and haughtiness, Silenus, though he did not think him worthy of ridicule, would not admit him into the society of the Emperors. And, besides, he was not only addicted to all kinds of lasciviousness, but by his impertinent officiousness and perfidy often interrupted the harmonious concert. Nemesis therefore soon banished him, and whither he went I know not, as I forgot to ask Mercury.

other at Milan. The abdication of Diocletian has been considered as the greatest effort of human virtue; nevertheless, it was not so voluntary as is generally supposed. But he made it honestly, and without return; wiser than Herculius, who, after resuming the purple, and occasioning many disturbances, was obliged to destroy himself.

LA BLETERIE.

* I know not why Julian excludes only one of the two Maximians. As a proof that neither of them deserved to be admitted, we do not immediately discover which he means. However, as this Maximian alone disturbed the concert formed by the union of Diocletian and his collegues, Julian must necessarily speak of Maximian-Galerius. He died at Sardis, of a dreadful disorder, considering his death as a punishment of the cruelties which he had exercised against the Christians. *Ibid.*

To

To this moſt melodious tetrachord a harſh, diſagreeable, and diſcordant ſound ſucceeded *. Two of the candidates Nemeſis would not ſuffer to approach even the door of the aſſembly. LICINIUS came thus far, but having been guilty of many crimes, he was repulſed by Minos. CONSTANTINE entered, and ſat ſome time; and near him ſat his

* Diocletian had flattered himſelf that the partition of the empire between two Emperors and two Cæſars would ſubſiſt in future; but one of the chagrins which he felt in his retirement was the ambition and miſunderſtanding of his ſucceſſors, each of whom thought only of making himſelf maſter of the whole empire. Thoſe whom Julian has here in view are Maxentius, Maximin-Daïa, Licinius, and Conſtantine.

Maxentius, the ſon, or ſuppoſed ſon, of Maximian-Herculius, was a prince ill-made, without genius, cowardly, ſlothful, cruel, debauched. When he harangued his ſoldiers, it was to exhort them to make good cheer, to ſpend money, to enjoy life; *fruimini*. He obliged Sophronia, daughter of the governor of Rome, to renew the tragical hiſtory of Lucretia. It is well known that he periſhed in the Tiber, in his endeavour to deſtroy Conſtantine.

Maximin-Daïa, as deſpicable as Maxentius, and a ſtill more cruel perſecutor than his uncle Maximian-Galerius, being vanquiſhed by Licinius, eſcaped to the city of Tarſus, and took poiſon at the end of a great entertainment. This poiſon, failing of its entire effect, occaſioned him a horrible and long malady. I do not find in all antiquity a death more ſhocking than his.

Though Licinius had courage and ſucceſs in war, he was ſtill more wicked than Maximin. He conſidered literature as the peſt of a ſtate. Conſtantine vanquiſhed him, obliged him to quit the purple, and, ſoon after, deprived him of life. Of Conſtantine and his ſons more in the ſequel. LA BLETERIE.

ſons. As for MAGNENTIUS *, he was refuſed admittance, becauſe he had never done any thing laudable, though many of his actions might appear brilliant. But the Gods, perceiving that they did not flow from a good principle, diſmiſſed him much afflicted.

* Magnentius, who derived his origin from the Franks and the Saxons, ſerved with reputation in the Roman troops, when he aſſumed the purple at Autun, and cauſed the Emperor Conſtans to be put to death. He was vanquiſhed by Conſtantius in the battle of Murſa in 352, and in the following year, through fear of falling into the hands of the conqueror, he killed himſelf in the Gauls, after having killed all his family. He had profeſſed Chriſtianity, though he was perhaps a Pagan in his heart. Courage is aſcribed to him, or that which often produces the ſame effect, the art of concealing his timidity, with a taſte for books, learning, a lively and animated eloquence, and reſpect and zeal for the laws, when they were no obſtacle to his ambitious projects. No writer charges him with debauchery, and this ſilence expreſſes much. Such vices, however, are given him as are always given to unſucceſsful uſurpers. Julian, in particular, elſewhere paints Magnentius in the moſt hideous colours; but it is in his panegyrics of Conſtantius. The opinion which he forms here ſeems much more credible, and ſufficiently agrees with that of Zoſimus. "Magnentius," ſays that hiſtorian (*l.* ii.) "was bold in "proſperity, and timid in adverſity. He knew ſo well "how to diſguiſe his natural perverſeneſs, that thoſe "who did not know him took him for a man of ſim-"plicity and of an excellent character. I think myſelf "obliged to make this remark," continues Zoſimus, "becauſe ſome have thought that he governed the ſtate "well. Let them be no longer deceived in him. Magnentius "did nothing from good motives, from a principle of "virtue." Let us obſerve, by the way, that the true or falſe idea which Julian gives of Magnentius is exactly the ſame which we ought to have of Julian.

LA BLETERIE.

In

In this manner was the banquet prepared. At the table of the Gods nothing was wanting, for all things are theirs. But that of the heroes Mercury thought imperfect, and Jupiter was of the same opinion. Quirinus had long requested to introduce another of his descendants. But Hercules said, "I will not suffer it, Quirinus. For "why have you not invited my ALEXANDER also "to the feast? If therefore, Jupiter, you intend "to enroll any of the heroes among us, send, "I intreat you, for ALEXANDER. When we "are canvassing the merits of men, why should "the bravest be omitted?" What the son of Alcmena proposed was approved by Jupiter. ALEXANDER therefore entered the assembly of heroes; but neither CÆSAR, nor any one else, rose up to him; so that he was obliged to take the seat which the eldest son of SEVERUS had left vacant *, he, for his fratricide, having been expelled.

* What is the reason that Alexander takes the seat intended for Caracalla, when there are so many others vacant? This is one of those little circumstances that give narrations a greater air of truth. Besides, this recalls some facts. Caracalla was inflamed with a foolish passion for Alexander. Not contented with filling the cities, the temples, Rome, and the capitol with the statues of that prince, with having a phalanx whose officers bore the names of the generals of Alexander, and dressing in the Macedonian manner, he endeavoured to identify himself with his hero in some fantastic pictures, where the face was composed of half that of Alexander and half that of his own. He persecuted the Peripatetic philosophers, because Aristotle was suspected of being concerned in the death of that conqueror. LA BLETERIE.

Silenus

Silenus then ſcoffing at Quirinus, ſaid, 'Take care, 'or this one Greek will excell all your Romans.' "By Jove," replied Quirinus, "I think that many "of them are, in every reſpect, his equals. My "poſterity indeed have ſo much admired him, that "of foreign generals they ſtyle and think him "only great; not that they deem him ſuperior to "their countrymen, or are void of national preju-"dice. But that we ſhall ſoon determine when we "have brought their merits to the teſt!" Saying this, Quirinus bluſhed *, and ſeemed evidently anxious for his deſcendants.

After this, Jupiter aſked the Gods, whether all ſhould enter the liſts, or whether they ſhould adopt the practice obſerved in wreſtling, where whoever conquers him who has gained the moſt victories is deemed the only victor, even of thoſe who have been vanquiſhed by his antagoniſt, though they have not been his competitors? This was generally approved, as a juſt determination. Mercury then proclaimed that CÆSAR ſhould advance firſt, OCTAVIANUS next, and TRAJAN third, thoſe being the greateſt warriors. Silence being commanded, Saturn, turning to Jupiter, expreſſed his ſurpriſe at ſeeing martial Emperors ſummoned to this conteſt,

* We muſt not forget that Julian is a Greek to the bottom of his ſoul. His only comfort in being a Roman was his having been born at Byzantium, and his conſidering Rome as a colony of Greeks. LA BLETERIE.

but no philoſophers *. "Theſe," he ſaid, "are "equally dear to me. Call therefore, and intro- "duce MARCUS [AURELIUS]." He being ſummoned, advanced with a ſerious aſpect †, occaſioned by the labours of his mind. His eyes were hollow, his brow was contracted ‡, and his whole form diſplayed unſtudied beauty; for his hair was uncombed, his beard was long, his dreſs ſimple and œconomical, and by ſcanty nouriſhment § his body

* It is right for Saturn, a pacific God, and the father of the golden age, to be intereſted for philoſophical princes, and for Marcus Aurelius in particular, the greateſt philoſopher of them all; who, in ſpite of the various ſcourges with which the empire was afflicted in his time, promoted the happineſs of the Romans. It is ſaid of this Emperor, that Providence gave him to mankind in mercy, to temper the ſeverity of the chaſtiſements which it had inflicted upon them in juſtice. LA BLETERIE.

† It is pretended, that, even in his childhood, neither joy nor ſorrow ever made him change countenance: but his gravity had nothing in it ſad or auſtere. *Sine triſtitiâ gravis.* *Ibid.*

‡ He is thus repreſented on his medals, eſpecially thoſe which were ſtruck in the latter years of his life. *Ibid.*

§ At the age of twelve years, Marcus Aurelius took the habit of a philoſopher, and ſoon after he was deſirous of practiſing all the auſterities of the Stoic philoſophy, even to the lying on the ground under his cloak. His mother uſed her utmoſt endeavours to perſuade him to lie on a wooden bedſted covered with a ſingle ſkin. A life ſo hardy made no abatement in the ſweetneſs of his temper, but it impaired his health. Nevertheleſs, his habitual infirmities never prevented him from fulfilling all his duties, and from finding time beſides for ſtudy. His ſoul appeared to have gained what his body had loſt.

Julian piqued himſelf on being an imitator of Marcus Aurelius, ſlept hardly, and lived on vegetables. Some of the

body was transparent and splendid, like the purest and clearest light. When he was admitted within the sacred inclosure, Bacchus said, "King Saturn "and Father Jupiter, can any thing imperfect be "allowed among the Gods?" No answer being returned, "Let us send then," proceeded he, "for some lover of pleasure." 'But,' replied Jupiter, 'it is not lawful for any one to be admitted 'here who does not worship us *.' "Let judgment "therefore," said Bacchus, "be pronounced on "him in the vestibule. We will call, with your "leave, a prince, not indeed unwarlike †, but "softened

the Epistles of Julian give us reason to think that he was frequently ill. But it is more easy to wear the beard of Marcus Aurelius, to copy his austerities, and to ruin one's health, like him, than to acquire his solidity of genius, his love of virtue for virtue's sake, his contempt of glory, and, if I may venture so to express myself, that sobriety of wisdom, which was the foundation of his character.

LA BLETERIE.

* Ου θεμιτον εστω φοιτην ανδρι μη τα ημετερα ζηλουντι. M. de la Bleterie translates this, "Whoever does not take us for "his model cannot set foot here;" but I understand it, "Whoever is not a worshipper of us," &c. in allusion to Constantine, who was a Christian. It is observable, however, that Constantine and his sons are before mentioned as entering the assembly and sitting some time.

† If Constantine had been a slave to his pleasures, so far as to deserve, though he had declared for Christianity, the protection of Bacchus, he would not have been so distinguished in war and in peace; he would not have reigned so gloriously for more than thirty years, that is, much longer than any Emperor had reigned since Augustus. This general reflection may be sufficient to shew the injustice of Julian. History represents Constantine to us as a prince always engaged in some useful project, giving frequent au-

" ſoftened by pleaſure and enjoyment. Let CON-
" STANTINE come as far as the veſtibule."

This

diences, drawing up his laws and diſpatches himſelf, borrowing from his ſleep time to read the holy ſcriptures, and to compoſe ſome religious diſcourſes, which he pronounced in public, endeavouring to obtain the aſſiſtance of Heaven by prayer, faſting, and abſtinence from lawful pleaſures.

If we deduct from theſe elogiums whatever may be taken from panegyrics, if we ſet aſide the good that is ſaid of him by Chriſtian writers, and even the praiſes that are given him by ſuch of the Pagans as may be ſuſpected of flattery, having written in his reign, or in that of his ſons, I mean Libanius, and the hiſtorian Praxagoras; in a word, if Conſtantine be judged by the teſtimony of Eutropius, who dedicates his work to Valens, and by what is ſaid of him by that Victor who wrote in the reign of the ſons of Theodoſius I. the reſult will be, that Conſtantine was a prince of an elevated genius, active, vigilant, laborious, and, even independently of what he did for the Chriſtian religion, and notwithſtanding the blemiſhes that are found in his life, that he deſerved the title of Great. The teſtimony of thoſe authors is the more important, as they ſpare neither his faults nor failings.

Zoſimus, a partial writer, and the declared enemy of the Chriſtian Emperors, is the only one, beſides Julian, who accuſes him of being devoted to pleaſures. Yet Zoſimus throws this reproach only on the latter years of his reign. In fact Conſtantine could have given no pretext for that accuſation till after the foundation of New Rome. Tired of wars, and even of victories, he thought that he had acquired a right to taſte the fruit of his labours. Without remaining in inactivity, or living in voluptuouſneſs (for, to the end of his life, he employed himſelf in affairs of ſtate, and in thoſe of the church), he gave ſome brilliant entertainments. His court was magnificent; he procured himſelf ſome amuſements that had nothing criminal in the eyes of the world, and which perhaps he thought were allowed him becauſe he had not yet been baptiſed.

It

This being allowed (the mode of their contention having been previouſly ſettled) Mercury adviſed, that every one ſhould ſeverally ſpeak for himſelf, and that the Gods ſhould then give their votes. But of this Apollo diſapproved, inſiſting, that truth only, and not eloquence, or the charms of oratory, ought to be diſcuſſed and examined by the Gods. Jupiter, wiſhing to oblige all, and, at the ſame time, deſirous to prolong the aſſembly, replied, " There can be no inconvenience in di-
" recting each of them to ſpeak by a certain
" meaſure of water *, and afterwards we may
" interrogate them and ſcrutiniſe their thoughts."
Silenus jocoſely added, ' Take care, Neptune, or
' TRAJAN and ALEXANDER †, miſtaking the water
' for

It is ſuppoſed that the imagination and malignity of Julian working on this canvas might make Conſtantine a ſlave to pleaſure. Let us never forget that Julian deteſted his uncle as the deſtroyer of Paganiſm; and that he was by taſte, by principle, by vanity, an enemy to all pleaſures. How much muſt the magnificence of Conſtantine have wounded a man who gave into the oppoſite extreme, who carried philoſophy to ſuch an exceſs, as to deſpiſe decorum, and who, by the manners which he aſcribes to himſelf in the Miſopogon, ſeems to have been deſirous that his picture ſhould be the companion of that of Diogenes!

LA BLETERIE.

* When the Greeks and Romans would give orators a certain fixed time, they employed hour-glaſſes of water, to which they gave the name of *clepſydræ*, which the modern Latiniſts apply very improperly to our ſands. *Ibid.*.

† It is well known that Alexander was very fond of wine, and that in drunkenneſs he waa capable of the

'for nectar, will ſwallow it all, and ſo leave none 'for the reſt.' Neptune anſwered, "They were "much more fond of your draughts, Silenus, "than of mine. It behoves you therefore to be "rather afraid of your own vines than of my "ſprings." Silenus was chagrined, and made no reply, but afterwards attended ſolely to the diſputants. Mercury then proclaimed,

* 'The arbiter of prizes due
'To ſignal merit now begins.
'Delay no longer, Time exhorts,
'But lend your ears to what the voice
'Of herald Mercury proclaims.
'Ye kings, to whoſe ſuperior ſway
'Of old ſubmiſſive nations bow'd,
'Who launch'd in fight the hoſtile ſpear,

greateſt exceſſes. His laſt debauch coſt him his life. As for Trajan, he was obliged to forbid the execution of any orders which he might give at coming from a great entertainment. One of the methods of which Hadrian availed himſelf to gain his friendſhip was to carouſe with him at table. LA BLETERIE.

* See Lucian, at the end of his Demoniacs. PETAU.

The three firſt lines only (in the original) are quoted from that work.

This proclamation, in the taſte of thoſe which were made in Greece at the opening of the games, conſiſts of forms uſed on thoſe occaſions, and of ends of verſes taken from the Greek poets that we have, and thoſe whom we have not. This kind of cento has in the original, or rather had, a merit which we may imagine, but which it is impoſſible to transfuſe into another language. LA BLETERIE.

M. de la Bleterie has only given the ſenſe. The Engliſh is almoſt literal.

'Advance,

' Advance, contend, with prudent minds
' Oppoſe your rivals, and await
' The juſt, th' impartial will of Heaven!
' Wiſdom theſe think the end of life,
' Thoſe, vengeance on their foes to wreak,
' And ſerve their friends: of life, of toil,
' Pleaſure ſome make the ſingle view,
' Feaſts, nuptials, all that feeds their eyes:
' From dainty ornaments of dreſs,
' Or rings, with precious gems adorn'd,
' Others ſuperior bliſs derive.
' Jove will the victory decree.'

Mercury having made this proclamation, the combatants drew lots: and the lot happened to concur with the love of pre-eminence habitual to CÆSAR. This augmented his pride and arrogance; ſo that ALEXANDER would have declined the conteſt, had he not been encouraged and perſuaded by Hercules. ALEXANDER obtained the next turn of ſpeaking after CÆSAR. When all the reſt had had their proper turns aſſigned them, CÆSAR thus began:

" It was my good fortune, O Jupiter and ye " Gods, to be born, after many heroes, in that " illuſtrious city, which has extended her do- " minion farther than any other; ſo that they all " may be ſatisfied, if they obtain the ſecond place. " For what other city, deducing its origin from " three thouſand men, has, in leſs than ſix hun- " dred years, carried its conqueſts to the utmoſt

" extremities of the earth? What other nation has
" produced so many distinguished warriors and
" legislators, or such devout worshippers of the
" Gods? Born in a city so renowned, I surpassed,
" by my actions, not only my contemporaries, but
" all the heroes that ever lived. Of my own
" countrymen I know not one that will deny me
" the superiority. But as this Grecian is so pre-
" sumptuous, which of his actions will he pretend
" to put in competition with mine? His Persian
" trophies perhaps, as if he knew not how many
" I won from Pompey. And who was the most ex-
" perienced general, Pompey or Darius? Which of
" them commanded the bravest troops? Instead of
" the refuse of mankind, Pompey had in his army
" more warlike nations than were ever subject to
" Darius; of Europeans, those who had often
" routed the hostile Asiatics, and of them the
" most valiant; Italians, Illyrians, and Gauls.
" Having mentioned the Gauls, can the Getic
" exploits of ALEXANDER be compared with my
" conquest of Gaul? He passed the Danube once;
" I twice passed the Rhine; and of my German
" victories no one can dispute the glory. I fought
" with Ariovistus *.

" I was the first Roman who dared to cross the
" German ocean †. Though this was a wonder-

* The antithesis is this: " Alexander met with no op-
" position in his Getic expedition, and therefore he
" marched with impunity. But I was resisted by Ariovistus."
PETAU.

† In the original, τῆς ἐκτὸς θαλάσσης, " the outward sea."
The inner was the Mediterranean.

" ful

" ful atchievement, however it may be admired,
" more glorious was my intrepidity in being the
" firſt who leaped on ſhore *. Of the Helvetic
" and Iberian nations I ſay nothing; nor have I
" mentioned my actions in Gaul, where I took
" above three hundred towns †, and defeated two
" millions of men. Great as theſe actions were,
" that which followed was greater and more il-
" luſtrious. Being obliged to wage war with my
" fellow-citizens, I vanquiſhed the unconquered
" and invincible Romans. If we ſhould be judged
" by the number of our battles, I fought thrice
" as many as are aſcribed to ALEXANDER by his
" greateſt panegyriſts; if by the number of towns
" taken, not in Aſia only, but alſo in Europe, I
" reduced more. ALEXANDER ſaw and traverſed
" Ægypt; I, while I feaſted there, ſubdued it.
" Will you alſo compare the clemency of each of
" us, when victorious? I pardoned my enemies,

* He alludes here to the deſcent which Cæſar made on Britain. But the memory of Julian deceives him. He attributes to Cæſar what Cæſar himſelf ſays (*l.* v. *de bello Gallico*) of the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion. " He " who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, after beſeeching " the Gods, that the event might be proſperous to the " legion, ſaid, ' Leap aſhore, ſoldiers, unleſs you would ' betray the eagle to the enemy.' " Saying this, with a " loud voice, he threw himſelf out of the ſhip, and ad- " vanced with the eagle towards the enemy, &c." It was Alexander, who, after paſſing the Helleſpont, firſt leaped aſhore completely armed. Such a proceeding is more ſuitable to the impetuous valour of Alexander than to the phlegmatic and ſedate courage of Cæſar. LA BLETERIE.

† See Plutarch.

" and received from them ſuch a return as Nemeſis
" has revenged. He never ſpared his enemies, nor
" even his friends. In particular, as you diſpute
" the pre eminence, and will not immediately yield
" to me, like the reſt, you compel me to mention
" your cruel behaviour to the Thebans *. On
" the contrary, how great was my humanity to
" the Helvetii! The cities of the former were
" burnt by you; the cities of the latter, burnt by
" their own inhabitants, were rebuilt by me †.
" Which, in ſhort, was moſt illuſtrious; your
" defeating ten thouſand Greeks, or my repulſing
" the attacks of a hundred and fifty thouſand Ro-
" mans? Much more could I add, both of ALEX-
" ANDER and myſelf; but as I never had leiſure
" to ſtudy the art of oratory ‡, you muſt excuſe
" me, and, forming a juſt and impartial judge-
" ment both from what I have ſaid, and what I
" have omitted, will, I doubt not, give me the
" ſuperiority."

* When Alexander took Thebes by ſtorm, the inhabitants were ſlain and deſtroyed for ſeveral hours without regard to ſex or age; and the city was afterwards razed, the houſe of Pindar only excepted.

† The Helvetii having abandoned their country, and burnt their towns, as they were preparing to enter Gaul, were defeated by Cæſar, ſent back to their country, and ordered to re-build their houſes.

‡ In the original, το λεγειν εξεμελετησα, or εξεμελησα. Perhaps he does not mean to ſay, that Cæſar had no excellence in ſpeaking; for he was reckoned among the orators of his time; witneſs Cicero, in his Brutus; but that he was not uſed to ſpeak without premeditation.

CANTOCLARUS.

CÆSAR

CÆSAR thus concluded, but ſeeming deſirous of ſaying ſtill more; ALEXANDER, who before had with difficulty reſtrained himſelf, could refrain no longer, but, with much anxiety and emotion, thus began:

"How long, O Jupiter and ye Gods, ſhall I "ſilently bear the inſolence of this boaſter *! He "ſets no bounds, you ſee, to his praiſe of himſelf, "or to his abuſe of me. Much better would it "have become him to have abſtained equally from "both, as both are alike intolerable, but chiefly "that of depreciating my conduct, which he made "the example of his own. Such is his aſſurance, "that he has dared to ridicule his own model. "You ſhould have recollected, CÆSAR, the tears "which you ſhed on hearing of the memorials "that were raiſed in honour of my deeds †. But "you afterwards owed your elevation to Pompey, "who, though he was really inſignificant ‡, was "idoliſed by his countrymen. As to his African

* This is not unlike the beginning of Cicero's Oration againſt Catiline, *Quouſque tandem abutêre, Catilina, patientiâ noſtrâ?*

† At Gades, obſerving in the temple of Hercules a ſtatue of Alexander the Great, he ſighed, and, as if aſhamed of his own ſupineneſs in having done nothing memorable at an age when Alexander had conquered the world, he importunately urged to be recalled to Rome, that he might be ready on the ſpot to embrace any occaſion that might offer for more important undertakings. *Sueton. Jul. Cæſar. c.* 7. See alſo Plutarch.

‡ It is plain that Julian had read the Epiſtles of Cicero to Atticus. LA BLETERIE.

" triumph *, no great exploit, his fame was owing " to the weakneſs and inactivity of the conſuls †. " The ſervile war ‡ was not waged with men, but " with the moſt abandoned ſlaves, and it was con- " ducted by Craſſus and Lucius §, though Pompey " had the name and the reputation. Armenia and " the neighbouring provinces were conquered by " Lucullus; yet for theſe alſo Pompey triumphed. " He was then flattered by his fellow-citizens, " and named the Great. But than whom of his " predeceſſors was he greater? Which of his " actions is comparable to thoſe of Marius, or of " the two Scipios? or of Camillus, who was almoſt " as much the founder of Rome as this Quirinus, " having rebuilt his city when it was almoſt falling? " For they did not arrogate to themſelves the " works of others, as is uſual in buildings founded " and finiſhed at the public expence, where the " magiſtrate, who has only plaiſtered the walls, " on completing the edifice, inſcribes the foun- " dation-ſtone. But theſe heroes, as public ar- " tificers and architects, have juſtly immortaliſed " their own names. It is no wonder therefore, " that you vanquiſhed Pompey, ſcratching his

* Pompey, at the age of twenty-nine, when he was only a knight, was ſent into Africa to encounter the party of Marius. LA BLETERIE.

† M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

‡ The war of Spartacus.

§ Lucius Gellius. See Plutarch's Life of Craſſus, and Appian, *Bell. Civil.* I.

" head,

" head *, and more reſembling a fox than a lion. " When he was deſerted by Fortune, who had " long favoured him, you eaſily conquered him " ſingle. But that your ſucceſs was owing to no " ſuperior abilities is evident; for being in want " of proviſions (which, you know, is no ſmall fault " of a general †), you fought, and were defeated ‡. " And if Pompey, by his imprudence, or folly, or " becauſe he could not govern his army, when he " ſhould have protracted the war, gave battle §, " and did not purſue his victory, his failure was " the conſequence of his own miſconduct, not of " your military ſkill. The Perſians, on the con- " trary, though in every reſpect well prepared and " amply provided, ſubmitted to my dominion. " And as it becomes a good man and a wiſe

* In the original, δακτύλῳ κνωμένη, which the French tranſlator has paraphraſed, " who, for fear of diſarranging " his hair, did not venture to touch his head but with his " finger's end." Yet Ammianus (xvii. 11.) mentioning two ludicrous faults that the envious imputed to Pompey, ſays that this was one, *quòd genuino quodam more caput uno digito ſcalpebat*; " that he ſcratched his head, in a par- " ticular manner, with one of his fingers."

† Julian himſelf committed the ſame fault in his Perſian expedition.

‡ At the battle of Dyrrhachium.

§ This interpretation agrees better with the ſenſe, and with hiſtory, than the proper ſignification of the Greek words, [which is, " when he ſhould have declined to give " battle."] For certain it is, from Appian, Plutarch, and other writers, that Pompey did not act like a prudent general in offering battle to Cæſar at Pharſalia, when Cæſar was in ſuch a ſituation, that he muſt eaſily have been reduced by his want of neceſſaries. CANTOCLARUS.

" prince

" prince to act not only with moderation, but with " juſtice, I took arms to revenge the Greeks on " the Perſians, and to free Greece from civil war. " Nor was it ever my intention to ravage Greece, " but thoſe only, who would have prevented my " march againſt Perſia, I chaſtiſed. You, after " ſubduing the Gauls and Germans, turned your " arms againſt your own country. What can be " worſe, what more infamous?

" You have mentioned, with a ſneer, 'my de- 'feating ten thouſand Greeks.' " That you your- " ſelves ſprung from the Greeks, and that the " Greeks inhabited the greateſt part of Italy, I " well know; but on this I will not inſiſt. With " a ſmall nation of them, the Ætolians, your " neighbours, you thought it of great conſequence " to make an alliance; but after they had fought " for you, why did you reduce them, and that " not eaſily, to ſubjection? If then, in the old age, " as it has been called, of Greece, you could " ſcarce reduce, not the whole, but one ſmall " nation, which was ſcarce known when Greece " was in her vigour, what would have been the " event, if you had been obliged to contend with " the Greeks when flouriſhing and united? How " much you were alarmed by the invaſion of " Pyrrhus you need not be reminded. As you " think the conqueſt of Perſia ſuch a trifle, and " depreciate an enterpriſe ſo glorious, tell me " why, after a war of above two thouſand years, " you have never ſubdued a ſmall province be-

" yond

" yond the Tigris *, ſubject to the Parthians?
" Shall I inform you? The darts of the Perſians
" prevented you. Antony, who ſerved under
" your command, can give you an account of
" them †. But in leſs than ten years I conquered
" both Perſia and India. After this, do you dare
" to contend with me, who, trained to war from
" my childhood, performed ſuch deeds, that the
" remembrance of them, though they have not
" been ſufficiently celebrated by hiſtorians, will
" live for ever, like thoſe of the invincible Her-
" cules, of whom I was the follower and imitator?
" I rivalled, in ſhort, my anceſtor Achilles, and,
" admiring Hercules, I trod in his ſteps as nearly
" as a mortal can follow a God. Thus much, O
" ye Gods, it was neceſſary for me to ſay in my
" own defence againſt an opponent, whom per-
" haps it might have been better to have ſilently
" deſpiſed. If I was guilty of any cruelties, the

* Meaning Babylonia, where the Romans never made any ſolid conqueſt. It was the northern part of Meſopotamia. LA BLETERIE.

† Antony, having entered Media, thought himſelf happy to eſcape with the remains of his army, after loſing twenty thouſand men, and all his baggage. Julian might have quoted many other Roman generals and Emperors [Craſſus in particular], who were worſe treated even than Antony, in their expeditions againſt the Parthians, or Perſians. But he did not foreſee that he himſelf would ſoon add to the number of thoſe unfortunate heroes. *Ibid.*

It is impoſſible to read the intereſting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102—116.) without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were purſued by the ſame enemies, and involved in the ſame diſtreſs. GIBBON.

" innocent

" innocent were not the objects, but such as had " frequently and notoriously offended, and had " made no proper use of their opportunities. " And my offences even against them were fol- " lowed by Repentance *, a very wise Goddess, " and the preserver of those who have erred. As " for my chastising the ambitious, who always " hated and had often injured me, in that I " thought myself excusable."

This military harangue being concluded, the attendant of Neptune gave the hour-glass to OCTAVIANUS, measuring to him a very small quantity of water, and at the same time, reminding him of his insolence to that Deity †. On which having reflected with his usual sagacity, omitting to say any thing of others, he thus began :

" Instead of depreciating the actions of others, " O Jupiter and ye Gods, I will confine my whole " speech to what concerns myself. In my youth

* Μεταμελεια. This Goddess, thus deified by Julian, seems rather taken from the Christian scriptures, than the Heathen mythology. The French translator styles her *Métanée*, from Μεταιωια, and " a celebrated retreat for pe- " nitents, known in Ecclesiastical history by the name of " *la Métanée*."

† In the war which Octavius waged against Sextus Pompey, many reproach him as well for some of his expressions, as for his conduct, having said, when his fleet was lost in a storm, that " he would gain the victory even " in spite of Neptune." And accordingly, when the Circensian games were next performed, he excluded the image of that God from the solemnity. *Suet. Aug. c.* XVI.

Julian himself, in like manner, swore afterwards, in a passion, that he would never sacrifice again to Mars. See *Ammianus*, XXIV. 6.

" I had

" I had the government of my native city, like
" this illuſtrious ALEXANDER. The German wars,
" like my father CÆSAR, I happily concluded.
" Involved in civil diſſenſions, I ſubdued Ægypt
" at Actium in a ſea-fight. I defeated Brutus and
" Caſſius at Philippi, and I made the ſon of Pom-
" pey contribute to my glory. Such, however,
" was my attachment to philoſophy, that, inſtead
" of being diſguſted at the freedom aſſumed by
" Athenodorus *, I was pleaſed with it, and re-
" vered him as a preceptor, or rather as a parent.
" Areus † alſo was my friend and confident. And,
" upon the whole, I was never guilty of the leaſt

* A very bold action is related of this philoſopher: Auguſtus, whoſe behaviour was never very guarded, ſometimes made ſome private aſſignations which might have been fatal to him. One day, when a Roman lady was to go to the palace incognito, Athenodorus got into a cloſe chair, and ordered himſelf to be carried to the apartment of the Emperor. Then, ſtepping out, with a ſword in his hand, " See," ſaid he, " to what you expoſe yourſelf! " Are you not afraid that ſome republican, or an enraged " huſband, ſhould take ſuch an opportunity of putting " you to death?" Auguſtus thanked the philoſopher for his leſſon, and promiſed to reform. He took greater precautions, no doubt, for the future, but his reformation went no farther. Livia, it is well known, to maintain her aſcendant over him, was obliged to connive at his infidelities.
LA BLETERIE.

† Julian in his Epiſtles mentions more than once the philoſopher Areus, and the eſteem which Auguſtus had for him. Certainly if by philoſophy are meant the philoſophers, ſhe cannot but be well ſatisfied with Auguſtus. Such equivocal expreſſions are too common. *Ibid.*

Areus is mentioned in the Epiſtle to Themiſtius, (ſee p. 25. and note *) and in Epiſtle LI.

" offence againſt philoſophy. As Rome, I ſaw, had
" been frequently reduced to the laſt extremity by
" inteſtine diviſions, I ſo re-eſtabliſhed her affairs,
" as to render them, by your aſſiſtance, O ye
" Gods, firm and adamantine. Without indulg-
" ing an inſatiable ambition, I ſtudiouſly endeav-
" oured to enlarge her dominions; but I concurred
" with nature in fixing the rivers Danube and
" Euphrates as their boundaries. After having ſub-
" dued the Scythians and Thracians, I did not
" employ the long reign with which you indulged
" me in meditating war after war, but devoted my
" leiſure to the correction of the evils which war
" had occaſioned, and to legiſlation; in which, I
" apprehend, I did not conſult the public wel-
" fare leſs than my predeceſſors; nay, if I muſt
" boldly ſpeak the truth, I conſulted it more than
" any who have governed ſuch an empire. For
" ſome who have commanded armies, when they
" might at length have reſted in peace, have made
" one war the pretence for another, as the litigious
" contrive law-ſuits. Others, when forced into a
" war, have been immerſed in pleaſure *, and have
" preferred the moſt infamous purſuits, not only
" to their glory, but even to their lives. Well
" weighing all theſe things, I do not think myſelf
" entitled to the loweſt place. But it becomes
" me to acquieſce in whatever you, O ye Gods,
" may pleaſe to determine."

* Alluding to Antony.

TRAJAN was appointed to harangue next. Though he had a talent for ſpeaking *, ſuch was his indolence, that he uſually employed Sura to compoſe his orations. Bawling, rather than ſpeaking, he diſplayed to the Gods his Getic and Parthian trophies. He then lamented his old age, as if that had prevented him from extending his Parthian conqueſts. 'You fool,' ſaid Silenus, 'you 'reigned twenty years, and this ALEXANDER only 'twelve. Why, then, do you not condemn your 'own indolence, inſtead of throwing the blame on 'want of time?' Provoked at this taunt, for he was not deficient in eloquence, though it was often blunted by intemperance, TRAJAN added,

"O Jupiter, and ye Gods, when I aſſumed the "reins of government, I found the empire in a "torpid and divided ſtate, occaſioned partly by

* Trajan, it is ſaid, had written the hiſtory of his wars with the Dacians. There is a ſhort Greek epigram by him in the Anthologia. He was not learned; but he eſteemed and favoured men of letters. When he triumphed over the Dacians, he had in his car the ſophiſt Dion, Chryſoſtom, and, during the proceſſion, he frequently turned to ſpeak to him. L. Licinius Sura was the confident of Trajan, who loaded him with riches, and raiſed him thrice to the conſulſhip. The enemies of Sura accuſed him of a deſign againſt the life of the Emperor. Trajan, by way of anſwer, went to ſup with Sura, had his eyes examined by the ſurgeon, and was ſhaved by the barber, of Sura, and ſupped with great gaiety. On the next day he ſaid to the accuſers, "Confeſs that, if Sura wanted to diſ-"patch me, he yeſterday miſſed a fine opportunity." After the death of Sura, Trajan borrowed the pen of Hadrian.

LA BLETERIE.

" the tyranny which had long prevailed at home,
" and partly by the inſults of the Getes abroad *.
" I did not heſitate, however, ſingly to attack the
" nations beyond the Danube. That of the Getes
" I ſubdued and extirpated; of all the moſt war-
" like, not only by their bodily ſtrength, but by
" the courage with which they are inſpired by the
" doctrine of their renowned Zamolxis †. For the
" firm

* By the Getes may be underſtood the Dacians. Decebalus, king of the Dacians, had obliged Domitian to purchaſe a peace, of which he endeavoured to cover the diſgrace by a magnificent triumph. " The poets of the " time," ſays M. de Tillemont, " equalled his pretended " victory to thoſe of Alexander and Cæſar." For that they were paid, or expected to be paid; but the Romans did not give them credit. Trajan, who was not diſpoſed to be tributary to the Barbarians, availing himſelf of the firſt infraction which Decebalus made, or ſeemed to make, of the treaty, marched againſt the Dacians. They defended themſelves with much courage, and even conduct. But at length Decebalus, being reduced to the laſt extremities, deſtroyed himſelf, and Dacia was made a province. LA BLETERIE.

† Zamolxis was the lawgiver of the Getes. [See p. 152.] Some Greeks pretend that he had been the ſlave of Pythagoras; but Herodotus thinks Zamolxis much more ancient. The opinion of the Getes as to the immortality of the ſoul had an affinity to the metempſychoſis: They ſaid that the dead went to find Zamolxis, and every five years they ſent an expreſs to repreſent to him the exigencies of the nation. See Herod. *l.* IV. 49.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed, that, before Zamolxis, thoſe people believed that the ſoul periſhed with the body. Zamolxis only publiſhed his own private ideas concerning the ſtate of ſeparate ſouls. No nation is or ever was perſuaded that all ends with death. No nation has received from its lawgivers the belief of another life; the lawgivers have every

" firm perſuaſion that they ſhall not periſh, but " only change their place of abode, makes them " always prepared as for a journey. This enter- " priſe I completed in leſs than five years. Of " all the Emperors who preceded me * not one " was ſo mild to his ſubjects, nor can that be " conteſted with me even with this CÆSAR, be- " fore unrivalled in clemency, nor by any other. " The Parthians, till they inſulted me, I thought it " unjuſt to attack ; but after they had inſulted me, " neither my age, nor the laws which allowed me " to quit the ſervice †, prevented my invading

every where found it. Some have not mentioned this doctrine, becauſe it was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. Others have mentioned it, not in order to prove it, which was by no means neceſſary, but to particulariſe it, and to diſplay its conſequences. The perſuaſion of the immortality of the ſoul, as well as that of the exiſtence of God, is the tenet of mankind, and the faith of nature. The contrary error is either the frenzy of a philoſopher who chooſes to be ſingular, or the intereſted wiſh of a libertine. LA BLETERIE.

* In the original, Παντων των προ εμε γεγονοτων αυτοκρατορων ωφθην τοις υπηκοοις πραοτατος, " Of all the Emperors who pre- " ceded me I was the mildeſt to my ſubjects." This paſſage, by which Trajan confounds himſelf with his predeceſſors, is ſimilar to that of Milton (noticed by Addiſon in the Spectator, N° 285.) in which Adam and Eve are ranked among their poſterity.

Adam, the goodlieſt man of men ſince born
His ſons, the faireſt of her daughters Eve.

† Regularly, every Roman, after twenty years ſervice, was exempted from bearing arms. Trajan had ſerved from his earlieſt youth. He was fifty-five years old, at leaſt, perhaps fifty-ſeven, when he made war with Coſroes, king of Parthia. LA BLETERIE.

" them. Thus circumſtanced, am not I, who was " eminently mild to my ſubjects and formidable " to my enemies, and who revered your divine " daughter, Philoſophy, juſtly entitled to ſuperior " honours, and even to the firſt rank ?"

TRAJAN having concluded, it was allowed that he excelled all in clemency, a virtue particularly pleaſing to the Gods.

MARCUS AURELIUS then beginning to ſpeak, Silenus ſaid, in a low voice, to Bacchus, ' Let us ' hear which of his wonderful paradoxes and ' aphoriſms this Stoic will produce.' But he, fixing his eyes on Jupiter and the other Gods, thus addreſſed them :

" I have no occaſion, O Jupiter and ye Gods, " to harangue or diſpute. If you were ignorant " of my actions, it would be proper for me to ac- " quaint you with them ; but as you are privy to " them, and nothing is concealed from you, you " will honour me as I deſerve."

Thus MARCUS, as in every thing elſe, ſeemed worthy of admiration for his extraordinary prudence in knowing when to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent *.

* This is an imitation of a verſe of Æſchylus, quoted by Aulus Gellius. In this particular, the pretended copy of Marcus Aurelius did not reſemble his original. Julian ſpoke much and often. *Linguæ fuſioris et admodùm raro ſilentis*, ſays Ammianus. LA BLETERIE.

CON-

CONSTANTINE * was then ſummoned to ſpeak. He entered the liſts with confidence; but when he reflected on the actions of his competitors, his own ſeemed trivial and inconſiderable. He defeated, it is true, two tyrants †; one of them unwarlike and puſil-

* Every impartial reader muſt perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian againſt his uncle and the Chriſtian religion. On this occaſion the interpreters are compelled, by a more ſacred intereſt, to renounce their allegiance, and deſert the cauſe of their author. GIBBON.

The reflections, or ſarcaſms, on the other candidates are confined to Silenus, or their antagoniſts. On this occaſion Julian is betrayed by his prejudice into a breach of the unity of character before obſerved, by taking, or rather making Mercury, his informant, take a decided part againſt Conſtantine.

† Julian uſes his utmoſt endeavours to depreciate the exploits of his uncle. Conſtantine was a great general; and perhaps his moſt ſubſtantial fault is his having been too warlike. If he had good fortune, he deſerved it; and the Pagans themſelves acknowledged that his talents were equal to his good fortune. *Innumeræ in eo animi corporiſque virtutes claruerunt*, ſays Eutropius. *Militaris gloriæ appetentiſſimus, fortunâ in bellis proſperâ fuit; verùm ita ut non ſuperaret induſtriam.* I know that Maxentius was a kind of Sardanapalus, who, remaining at Rome, while his colleague made war, ſaid, that he alone was Emperor, and that the others were his lieutenants; that he conſidered the going from his palace to the gardens of Salluſt as a long journey, &c. But he had 200,000 troops, a great deal of money, and good officers. "To dethrone him, Conſtantine," ſays a contemporary author, "with an army leſs numerous "than that of Alexander when he marched againſt Darius," that is, with no more than 40,000 men, "muſt have forced "the paſs of Succi, and have gained the battles of Turin, "Breſcia, Verona, and Rome, of which the three firſt, "at leaſt, muſt have been very obſtinate and bloody."

With regard to Licinius, he was not above fifty years old when he was defeated at the battle of Cibal, and about

puſillanimous, the other unfortunate and advanced in years, and both of them odious to Gods and men. As for his exploits againſt the Barbarians, they were ridiculous. For he, in a manner, paid them tribute, to indulge his love of pleaſure. He ſtood therefore at a diſtance from the Gods, near the entrance of the moon, of whom he was enamoured *, and, gazing only on her, was regardleſs of the victory.

How-

ſixty when he loſt the battles of Adrianople and Chryſopolis, which rendered Conſtantine maſter of the empire. Licinius, with all his vices, was brave and ſkilful in the conduct of war. He made his troops obſerve the ancient diſcipline with extreme ſeverity. Whatever Julian may ſay of him, his age had not at all abated his courage, any more than the vigour of his conſtitution. He was always proſperous when he had not Conſtantine to encounter. Add, that the reproach with which ſome writers have branded Conſtantine of breaking his word with Licinius, by putting him to death after having promiſed him life, ſeems removed by the ſilence of Julian. As to the victories which he gained over the Barbarians, that is, over the Franks, the Germans, the Sarmatians, and the Goths, Julian is the only one who deſpiſes thoſe "exploits." It is well known that Conſtantine, far from "paying tribute" to the Barbarians, freed the Romans from that which they paid to the Goths under the honourable name of penſion. But as he took into the ſervice of the empire 40,000 men of that nation, the pay which he gave them is probably that which Julian calls "tribute." LA BLETERIE.

* Why does Julian make Conſtantine "enamoured of "the moon?" This is an ænigma which I have endeavoured to ſolve. Am I ſo fortunate as to have at laſt ſucceeded? The reader ſhall determine. Antiquaries agree, that, from the earlieſt times, the creſcent was the diſtinction, or, as we ſhould now expreſs it, the arms of Byzantium, as it ſtill continues to be of Conſtantinople. Thus, when

However, as it was neceſſary for him to ſpeak, "In theſe particulars," ſaid he, "I am ſuperior "to my opponents; to the Macedonian, in having "fought againſt the Romans, Germans, and Scy-"thians, inſtead of Aſiatic Barbarians; to CÆSAR "and OCTAVIANUS, in not having vanquiſhed, "like them, good and virtuous citizens, but the "moſt cruel and wicked tyrants. To TRAJAN "alſo, for my ſtrenuous exertions againſt tyrants, "I deſerve no leſs to be preferred. To recover "the province * which he conquered ſeems to me "equally

when Julian reproaches his uncle with being enamoured of the moon, and attending ſolely to her, inſtead of thinking of the victory, the author, without detriment to the other ideas to which this reproach may give riſe, principally means, that Conſtantine, wholly devoted to the care of founding and embelliſhing his new-city, had neglected the affairs of ſtate, and ſuffered his laurels to wither. This is exactly what Zoſimus, the copyer of Eunapius and the echo of Julian, imputes to him, by ſaying, that "Con-"ſtantine, after the foundation of Conſtantinople, had no "ſucceſs in war; διετελεσε πολεμον ουδενα καλορθωρκως, and that "he ſuffered the Barbarians to inſult him in his new ca-"pital." LA BLETERIE.

The above ingenious ſolution of a difficulty, before inſuperable, will, I doubt not, be approved by every reader, and adopted by all future commentators on the Cæſars.

* Meaning Dacia, which Trajan had reduced to a province. Aurelian having abandoned it, it was uſurped by the Goths. There can be no doubt of Conſtantine having carried his arms beyond the Danube. The two Victors enumerate, among his great actions, his having made a bridge over that river. But it is certain, that he did not conquer the country of the Dacians. I am convinced that Julian, in order to render him ridiculous, repreſents him as affecting the importance of a conqueror on account of

" equally meritorious: perhaps to regain is more " laudable than to gain. As to this MARCUS, he, " by saying nothing for himself, yields us all the " precedency."

' But, CONSTANTINE,' said Silenus, ' why do ' you not mention, among your great works, the ' gardens of Adonis *? " What mean you, " replied CONSTANTINE, " by the gardens of Adonis †?"

of some advantages which he had gained over the Goths settled in Dacia; and perhaps for some forts which he had erected on the left of the Danube. With the same view, Julian makes him draw, from the silence of Marcus Aurelius, the most absurd, and, I may venture to say, the most foolish conclusion that can be imagined.

LA BLETERIE.

* Thus Suidas: " The gardens of Adonis consisted of " lettuce and fennel, which were sown in pots. It is used " as a proverb of things immature, or, when in season, " slight, and not rooted, not lasting, but adhering only " to the surface." See Athen. l. IV. c. 8. and Arrian's Epictetus. CANTOCLARUS.

Thus Shakspeare says,

Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens,
That one day bloom'd, and fruitful were the next.

1 Hen. IV. Act. I. Sc. II.

And Mr. Bramstone, in his Man of Taste. (Dodsley's Poems, Vol. I.) says,

Pots o'er the door I'll place, like cits balconies,
Which Bentley calls the gardens of Adonis;

and refers to Bentley's Milton, b. IX. ver. 439.

——— those gardens feign'd
Or of reviv'd Adonis.

He might have referred to much more ancient writers than Milton or his commentator, whom one would not have expected to have been ridiculed for this expression by a scholar.

† Could Constantine, though a Christian, be ignorant of the rites of a religion which he had long practised? If I mistake not, he is here meant to be accused on the most common subjects. LA BLETERIE.

' Pots,'

'Pots,' anſwered Silenus, 'filled with earth, in which 'women ſow herbs in honour of that lover * of 'Venus. They flouriſh for a ſhort time, but ſoon 'fade.' At this CONSTANTINE bluſhed, knowing it to be intended as a ſarcaſm on his own actions.

Silence being proclaimed, it was expected that the Gods would immediately have determined the pre-eminence by their votes. But they thought it proper firſt to examine the intentions of the candidates, and not merely to collect them from their actions, in which Fortune had the greateſt ſhare; and that Goddeſs, being preſent, loudly reproached them all, OCTAVIANUS alone excepted, who, ſhe ſaid, had always been grateful to her. Of this the Gods appriſed Mercury, and commanded him to begin with aſking ALEXANDER "what he "thought the higheſt excellence, and what "was his principal view in all the great actions "and labours of his life?" He replied, 'Univerſal 'conqueſt.' "And in this," ſaid Mercury, "did "you think you ſucceeded?" 'Certainly,' anſwered ALEXANDER. Silenus added, with a ſneering laugh, "You forget that you were often con-"quered by my daughters," meaning vines; and ridiculing ALEXANDER for his intemperance. ALEXANDER, well verſed in the Peripatetic aphoriſms, replied, 'Things inanimate cannot conquer. 'There can be no contention with them, but only 'with men or animals.' At this, Silenus ironically

* Ἀνδρὶ ("huſband") in the original.

expreſſing

expreſſing his admiration, exclaimed, " Alas! alas! " how great are the ſubterfuges of logicians! But " in what claſs will you rank yourſelf, among " things inanimate, or among the animate and " living?" ALEXANDER, with ſome diſpleaſure, replied, ' Be leſs ſevere; ſuch was my mag- ' nimity, that I was convinced that I ſhould be, ' nay that I was, a God.' " You allow then," ſaid Silenus, " that you were often conquered by " yourſelf, when anger, grief, or ſome other paſſion " debaſed and debilitated your mind." ' But,' anſwered ALEXANDER, ' for any one to conquer ' himſelf, and to be conquered by himſelf, are ſy- ' nonymous. I am talking of my victories over ' others.' " Fie upon your logic!" returned Silenus; " how it detects my ſophiſtry! But when " you were wounded in India *, and Peuceſtes lay " near you, and you, almoſt breathleſs, were car- " ried out of the city, were you conquered by him " who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" ' I not only conquered him,' replied ALEXANDER, ' but I alſo deſtroyed the city.' " Not you, indeed, " you Immortal," ſaid Silenus; " you lay like Homer's

* Alexander, when he was beſieging the capital of the Oxydracæ, according to Quintus Curtius, but, as others ſay, of the Mallians, was ſo raſh as to leap alone into the city, where he was dangerouſly wounded with an arrow by an Indian, who, believing him dead, then advanced to ſtrip him. Alexander, however, recovering, killed him with his dagger, and was ſoon after reſcued by his ſoldiers, and carried off to his tent almoſt dead. LA BLETERIE.

" Hector,

" Hector *, languid, and almoſt expiring; others " fought and conquered." ' True, anſwered ALEXANDER, ' but under my command.' " How " could they obey you," ſaid Silenus, " who were " carried out almoſt dead ?"

He then ſung theſe verſes of Euripides †:

" Unjuſt the cuſtom of the Greeks; the troops
" The battle gain, their leaders gain the glory."

' Say no more, my dear father,' ſaid Bacchus, ' leſt he ſhould treat you as he treated Clitus.' At this ALEXANDER bluſhed, wept, and was ſilent.

This diſcourſe ended, Mercury thus interrogated CÆSAR: " What, CÆSAR, was the principal view " of your life ?" ' To excell my contemporaries,' he replied, ' and neither to be, nor to be thought, ' ſecond to any." " This," ſaid Mercury, " is " not quite clear. In what did you particularly " wiſh to excell, in wiſdom or eloquence, in mili- " tary ſkill, or political abilities ?" ' In every ' thing,' anſwered CÆSAR. ' I was deſirous of be- ' ing the firſt of men; but, as that was impoſſible, ' I endeavoured to be the moſt powerful of my ' fellow-citizens.' " And had you much power " among them ?" ſaid Silenus. ' Certainly,' re-

* When he was wounded by Ajax. Il. XIV. 432. and XV. 246.

† In his Andromache. Clitus is ſaid to have repeated theſe verſes at a banquet of Alexander, in order to depreciate his exploits, by which he provoked Alexander to kill him, as Quintus Curtius informs us, in his eighth book, and Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander. BARNES.

plied CÆSAR, for I became their governor.' " That," returned Silenus, " you might be: but " you could never gain their love, though, for " that purpose, you dissembled much humanity, " acting a part like a player, and meanly flatter- " ing all men." ' What!' said CÆSAR; ' was I ' not loved by the people who persecuted Brutus ' and Cassius?' " That," replied Silenus, " was " not because they had murdered you; for on that " account the people made them consuls *; but " for the sake of your money, as soon as they had " heard your will, and found that no small reward " was given to those who should be their enemies."

This discourse also being concluded, Mercury thus accosted OCTAVIANUS: ' Will you also tell us ' what was your principal view?' He replied, " To reign well." " What means that?" said

* This is contrary to history. Brutus and Cassius were not nominated to the consulship by the people. The former was to have filled that place four years after, but that was an arrangement made by Cæsar. Though, instead of υπατες, " consuls," we should read ανθυπατες, " pro-consuls," Julian would still be mistaken. It was not the people, but the senate, that invested Brutus and Cassius with pro-consular power in the provinces of which those two republicans had taken possession. LA BLETERIE.

M. de la Bleterie has altered this passage, in his translation, to " they thought them worthy of the consulship " for having killed you." I cannot allow myself such a liberty, remembering the rule of Roscommon,

Your author always will the best advise,
Fall when he falls ———

A translator may correct his author in the notes, but in the text he should let him speak his own language.

Silenus,

Silenus. "Explain, AUGUSTUS, as this is pretended "even by the wicked. Even Dionyſius * thought "that he reigned well; and ſo did the ſtill more "abandoned Agathocles *." 'You know then,' replied OCTAVIANUS, 'ye Gods, that when I 'parted with my grandſon †, I prayed you to 'give him the courage of CÆSAR, the conduct of 'Pompey, and my good fortune.' "Many ſtatues "of Gods," ſaid Silenus, "moſt curiouſly carved, "of Gods of great merit, have been ſent us by "this ſtatuary." 'Why,' anſwered OCTAVIANUS, 'do you give me that ridiculous appellation?' "As Nymphs are carved," he replied, "have not "you formed Gods, one of whom, and the prin-"cipal, is this CÆSAR?" OCTAVIANUS bluſhed ‡, and ſaid no more.

Mercury then, addreſſing himſelf to TRAJAN, asked, 'what end his actions had in view?' "The "ſame," he replied, "as thoſe of ALEXANDER, "but with more moderation." 'So you were 'conquered,' ſaid Silenus, 'by more ignoble paſ-'ſions. He was frequently ſubdued by anger, 'you by the vileſt and moſt diſgraceful plea-

* Tyrants of Syracuſe well known.

† Auguſtus wiſhed this to C. Cæſar, the eldeſt ſon of Agrippa and Julia, when he ſent him to wage war in the eaſt. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Auguſtus had reaſon to bluſh at theſe extravagant apotheoſes; and Julian was in the right to ridicule them. But ſhould he not have reflected that many of the Gods whom he worſhipped were no more than images a little older? *Magis è longinquo reverentia.* *Ibid.*

'ſures.

' ſures *, " Plague on you!" ſaid Bacchus. " Your " ſarcaſms prevent their ſpeaking for themſelves. " A truce with your jokes, and conſider now what " you can find reprehenſible in MARCUS; for he " ſeems to me, in the ſenſe of Simonides †, per- " fect and faultleſs ‡." Then Mercury, turning towards MARCUS, ſaid, ' And what, O ſage, did ' you think the greateſt happineſs?' With a low voice, and with great diffidence, he replied, " To " imitate the Gods." This anſwer was immediately deemed highly noble and praiſe-worthy. Nor would Mercury queſtion him any farther, convinced that MARCUS would always anſwer with equal propriety. In this opinion all the other Gods concurred. Silenus only exclaimed, ' By ' Bacchus, I will not ſpare this ſophiſt §. Why ' did you formerly eat bread and drink wine, and ' not nectar and ambroſia, like us?' " Not in " order to imitate the Gods," replied he, " but " to nouriſh my body, from a perſuaſion, whether " true or falſe, that your bodies alſo require

* Yet Pliny the younger makes an admirable elogium on the chaſtity of Trajan. Rely on panegyriſts. LA BLETERIE.

† A native of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, diſtinguiſhed by his elegiac verſes. His anſwer to Hiero's queſtion, " What is God?" is well known.

‡ In the original, τέτραγωνος, " four-cornered," or " ſquare." This expreſſion occurs in one of the fragments of this poet ſtill preſerved.

§ No one leſs deſerves the name of ſophiſt than Marcus Aurelius. " A great proof of the regard of the Gods for " me," ſays he, . . . " is that having a very great love " for philoſophy, I have never fallen into the hands of any " ſophiſt; that I have not amuſed myſelf with reading " their books, or unravelling their vain ſubtleties, &c." *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus.* LA BLETERIE.

being

" being nourished by the fumes of sacrifices *. I " did not, however, think that you were to be imi- " tated in this, but in your minds." Silenus, as much stunned at this as if he had been struck by a skilful boxer, replied, ' This is somewhat plau- ' sible †; but tell me now, in what did you for- ' merly think that the imitation of the Gods con- ' sisted?' Marcus answered, " In having as few " wants, and doing as much good, as possible." ' What! had you no wants?' said Silenus. " As " to myself," replied Marcus, " I had none; but " my body perhaps had a few." Marcus seem- ing in this also to have answered wisely, Silenus at last insisted on what he thought improper and unjust in the conduct of Marcus towards his wife and son, his enrolling her among the God- desses, and entrusting the empire to him. ' In ' this also,' said Marcus, ' I imitated the Gods. ' For I practised that maxim of Homer,

* Julian adopts this gross conception by ascribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus. The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Julian, that an un- believing age might starve the immortal Gods. Gibbon.

† The Gods of Julian are not jealous Gods. On the con- trary, they are of a good composition, according to the ar- rogant philosophy of the Stoics, who were so chimerical as to imagine, that man has no need of any inward support, and that he may become like to God without any other strength than that of nature. " In which man," said they, " has " the advantage of Jupiter himself. Jupiter is good by " nature, but the wise man is good by his own choice." La Bleterie.

'The wife whom choice and paſſion both approve,
'Sure every wife and worthy man will love *.
'And as to my ſon, I am juſtified in my behaviour
'by that of Jupiter himſelf. "I ſhould long ago,"
'ſaid he to Mars, "have transfixed thee with a
"thunder-bolt, if I had not loved thee, becauſe thou
"art my ſon †." 'Beſides, I never imagined that
'COMMODUS would have proved ſo profligate. And
'though his youth, aſſailed on all ſides by ſtrong
'temptations, was hurried away by the worſt, I
'entruſted the government to one not yet cor-
'rupted. Afterwards, indeed, he became wicked.
'My tenderneſs therefore to my wife was copied
'from the example of the divine Achilles ‡, and
'that

* Pope, 450. This is ſaid by Achilles, on the ſubject of Briſeis, whom he conſiders as his wife, and whom Agamemnon had taken from him. Il. IX. 343. LA BLETERIE.

Julian, after Homer, ſtyles Briſeis "the wife" (γαμέτης) of Achilles, as he had before ſtyled Adonis "the husband" (ανηρ) of Venus. One would think he had read Thelyphthora.

† This is the ſubſtance of what Jupiter ſays to Mars. Il. V. 896, &c.

‡ It is impoſſible fully to juſtify the weakneſs of Marcus Aurelius in regard to his wife. Julian, however, might have made him offer a more plauſible excuſe than a maxim true in general, but liable to ſome exceptions; and which, for having come from the mouth of the divine Achilles, an authority very weak in point of conduct, was not the more applicable to the caſe of Marcus Aurelius. He might have alleged, not in his juſtification, but as an excuſe, that, never ſuſpecting evil, and judging of others by himſelf, he had thought that his wife was what ſhe ought to have been. Whatever ſome hiſtorians may ſay, Marcus Aurelius was ignorant of the irregularities of Fauſtina, as he thanks the Gods "for having given him a wife ſo good-

"natured

'that to my son * was in imitation of the supreme 'Jupiter; and, besides, in both these I was guilty 'of

"natured and obliging, full of tenderness for her husband, "and of a wonderful simplicity of manners." *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*, l. i. XVII.

"This ought not to seem very surprising," says Madam Dacier, "if we consider, on one side, the simplicity of "Antoninus," (so she always calls Marcus Aurelius) "and, "on the other, the genius of Faustina, who had no less "art than beauty, and who had captivated the emperor "by all the external demonstrations of a tenderness, which "appeared great in proportion to its falshood. Half as "much would have been sufficient to deceive a man much "more distrustful and suspicious than Antoninus. If, after "this, any are obstinately astonished at his ignorance," continues Madam Dacier, "I have no objection; persuaded, "that those who are so astonished are in the same situation; "for the world abounds with such examples, and there is "nothing of which women are more capable than such "dissimulation."

Madam Dacier adds, that, "if, in the satire of the "Cæsars, this prince, instead of excusing himself on ac-"count of his ignorance, alleges the maxim of Achilles, "and the example of other emperors, who have paid the "same honours to their wives, though they were no more "worthy than Faustina, the reason probably was, that "Julian meant to include in this satire the wives of Ha-"drian, Vespasian, and Augustus." That may be. But I rather think that Julian imagined he had answered every thing when he had quoted some verse of Homer.

LA BLETERIE.

The deification of Faustina is the only defect which Julian's criticism is able to discover in the all-accomplished Marcus Aurelius. GIBBON.

Another "defect," observed by Julian in Marcus Aurelius, was the entrusting the empire to his son. See p. 209.

* We will not say, with the Emperor Severus, that Marcus Aurelius ought to have put his son Commodus to death. But the faults, which paternal tenderness made that philosophical Emperor commit, are utterly inexcusable in so

'of no innovation. It is the general cuſtom for 'ſons to ſucceed to the inheritance of their fathers, 'and this is alſo the wiſh of all. Nor was I 'the firſt who decreed divine honours to a wife, 'there being many precedents. To have intro-'duced it might perhaps have been unreaſonable; 'but to prevent the neareſt relations from fol-'lowing a cuſtom eſtabliſhed by others, would be 'unjuſt. But I forget myſelf, and have been too 'prolix in my apology to you, O Jupiter and ye

great a man. I know that he at firſt took all poſſible methods to give his ſon an excellent education. But ſome corrupters inſinuated themſelves into the favour of that prince. It is ſaid, that, when Marcus Aurelius removed them, Commodus was ſo chagrined as to be ill, and that his father had the weakneſs to reſtore them to him.

Be that as it may, one of theſe three things muſt be allowed; either Marcus Aurelius was appriſed of the bad inclinations of his ſon; or he conſidered him as a young man wavering between good and evil; or, laſtly, he thought him ſolidly virtuous. In the firſt caſe, the empire not being hereditary, Marcus Aurelius ſhould have cauſed the ſenate to name him another ſucceſſor, and not have falſified the fair ſpeeches which he himſelf had made: "May my "children periſh, if they leſs deſerve to be loved than "thoſe of Caſſius, and if their lives are not uſeful to the "republic!" In the ſecond caſe, was the love of his country diſplayed by expoſing it to the riſk of having a vicious Emperor? On the third ſuppoſition, how can this prince be exculpated for having depended too much on the virtues which he thought he ſaw in a child? He made the ſenate confer on him, at the age of fifteen or ſixteen at moſt, both the conſulſhip, and the tribunitial power, and even the title of Auguſtus; and by that in a manner diveſted himſelf of paternal authority. Antoninus had not done ſo much in favour of Marcus Aurelius himſelf, though he was ſo early attached to virtue. LA BLETERIE.

'Gods,

'Gods, who know all things. Pardon me this 'indiſcretion.'

When MARCUS had finiſhed his ſpeech, Mercury interrogated CONSTANTINE, and aſked him, "What good end he had in view?" 'Having 'amaſſed great riches *,' he replied, 'to disburſe 'them liberally in the gratification of my own de-'ſires, and thoſe of my friends.' At this, Silenus burſt into a fit of loud langhter, and ſaid, "You "now wiſh to paſs for a banker †; but how can "you

* It is difficult to conceive that Conſtantine did not oppreſs his ſubjects. I mean, that he did not lay ſome new burthen upon them, and even that he granted ſome diminution of the old ones, according to M. de Tillemont. However, if we conſider the ſtate in which the empire muſt be, after ſo many civil wars, after having ſuffered the reigns of that crowd of Emperors and Cæſars, or rather tyrants, each of whom expended as much as a ſingle ſovereign, we ſhall allow that, in ſuch circumſtances, the deſign of founding a new capital, and of making Conſtantinople at once equal to Rome, the work of ſo many ages, was not that of a prince ſufficiently intent on the welfare of his ſubjects. But to ſay that, in amaſſing wealth, his object was to ſatisfy the paſſions of others, is unjuſtly to render him reſponſible for the abuſes which were made of his liberality by ſome of his friends, whom perhaps he had not choſen with ſufficient diſcernment. To pretend that his view was to ſatisfy his own paſſions is a calumny, unleſs it means his paſſion for New Rome: that paſſion, however, did not ſo exhauſt his treaſures as to leave him nothing to diſtribute in immenſe charities, in building and endowing churches, and in magnificently rewarding men of letters and artiſts.

LA BLETERIE.

† To underſtand this ſarcaſtic pleaſantry of Silenus, we muſt ſuppoſe that the bankers at that time lived and dreſſed very penuriouſly. "As by your own confeſſion," ſays

" you forget your living like a cook, or a hair-
" dreſſer? This your hair and looks formerly

Silenus, " you employed yourſelf in receiving and counting " money, like a banker, you ought to have lived and " dreſſed like one. You ought not to have indulged your- " ſelf in good cheer, in inventing new ragoûts, in paying " ſo much attention to your hair." The table of Conſtantine was ſerved with magnificence. By his medals it is thought that he was perhaps too curious in dreſs. Euſebius mentions ſome white hair that was among the preſents which were ſent him by Barbarian kings *. He wore gold-flowered ſtuffs, and a diadem adorned with jewels and pearls. What a ſcandal to Julian, who baniſhed from his palace all the cooks, who lived on vegetables, who neglected his hair and his perſon, on whom the diadem ſat ſo heavy that he retained it only through policy! He muſt have been enraged at him who had made the uſe of it common, and by that means laid his ſucceſſors under the neceſſity of wearing it. LA BLETERIE.

The dreſs and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he choſe to affect, ſerved only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Aſiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, aſſumed an air of ſoftneſs and effeminancy in the perſon of Conſtantine. He is repreſented with falſe hair of various colours, laboriouſly arranged by the ſkilful artiſts of the times, a diadem of a new and more expenſive faſhion, a profuſion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of ſilk, moſt curiouſly embroidered with flowers of gold. In ſuch apparel, ſcarcely to be excuſed in the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loſs to diſcover the wiſdom of an aged monarch, and the ſimplicity of a Roman veteran. Julian, in the Cæſars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His ſuſpicious teſtimony is confirmed, however, by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals. Euſebius alleges, that " Conſtantine dreſſed for the public, " not for himſelf." Were this admitted, the vaineſt coxcomb could never want an excuſe. GIBBON.

* See Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine IV.

" proved,

"proved, but now your words demonſtrate." Thus ſeverely ſarcaſtic was Silenus.

Silence being proclaimed, the Gods gave their votes privately. Moſt were in favour of MARCUS *, but Jupiter, after diſcourſing apart with his father, ordered Mercury to make the following proclamation: 'All you who have engaged in this con-'teſt, know, that, by our laws and decrees, the 'victor is allowed to rejoice, but not to inſult the 'vanquiſhed. Depart then wherever you pleaſe, 'under the patronage of the Gods, and, for the 'future, reſiding here, let every one chooſe ſome 'guardian and protector.'

ALEXANDER immediately haſtened to Hercules, and OCTAVIANUS to Apollo; but MARCUS attached himſelf cloſely both to Jupiter and Saturn. CÆSAR wandered about, and ran here and there, 'till Mars and Venus, moved with compaſſion, called him to them. TRAJAN joined ALEXANDER, as if he would ſeat himſelf in the ſame place. But CONSTANTINE not finding among the Gods the model of his actions, and perceiving the Goddeſs of Pleaſure, repaired to her. She received him very courteouſly, embraced him, and then dreſſing him in a woman's variegated gown, and

* Julian was ſecretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he ſeriouſly compared a hero with a philoſopher, he was ſenſible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander. GIBBON. See his Epiſtle to Themiſtius, p. 24.

nicely curling his hair, led him away to Luxury *. With her he found one of his sons †, who loudly proclaimed,

* Ασωτια. Julian here personifies Luxury, or (as M. de la Bleterie translates it) Debauchery, and places her among the Gods, in the same manner as he had before deified Pleasure (Τρυφη), and Repentance (Μεταμελεια.)

† This son, whom Constantine finds with Debauchery, is not one of the three who had followed him to the banquet, and whom, Julian says a little lower, their father "led "out of the assembly of the Gods." He here means Crispus, the eldest of all, a pupil of the celebrated Lactantius, and known by his tragical death still more than by his victories. But why does Julian place near Debauchery that prince whom history mentions as an unfortunate hero? Is it because he thought him guilty of the crime of which his step-mother accused him? No; that would tend to the exculpation of Constantine. It is rather owing to Julian's continuing to treat a manner of living less singular than his own as effeminacy and debauchery. Crispus was charged by the Empress Fausta with the same crime of which Phædra had formerly accused Hippolytus, and of intending to dethrone his father. Constantine, too credulous, put his son to death, and soon after, having discovered the innocence of Crispus, he punished the false accuser with a rigour that was considered as a new crime.

These two deaths, and that of his nephew, young Licinius, are indeed enormous crimes, which might have been expiated by the baptism which Constantine received before he died. But we may judge of the effect which they produced on such superficial and corrupt minds as imputed to religion the faults of its professors, both by the blasphemies of Julian and of modern infidels. Without pretending to penetrate into the judgments of God, we may consider, with M. de Tillemont, as the chastisement of these cruel actions of Constantine, both the faults which the Arians made him commit, and the extinction of his family, which seemed likely to continue for many ages; yet, numerous as it was, perished in less than forty years, by such a variety of bloody and untimely deaths, as excites horror. *Now therefore the sword shall not depart from thine*

proclaimed, " Let all, whether they be libertines, " or murderers, or whatever be their crimes *, " boldly

thine houſe . . . becauſe thou haſt given great occaſion to the enemies of the Lord to blaſpheme. LA BLETERIE.

Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilſt it imprints an indelible diſgrace on the memory of Conſtantine, muſt remind us of the very different behaviour of one of the greateſt monarchs of the preſent age. The Czar Peter, in the full poſſeſſion of deſpotic power, ſubmitted to the judgment of Ruſſia, of Europe, and of poſterity, the reaſons which had compelled him to ſubſcribe the condemnation of a criminal, or, at leaſt, a degenerate ſon. GIBBON.

* One would think, at firſt, that Julian alludes to the ſtory which the Pagans of the fifth century circulated on the ſubject of the converſion of Conſtantine. They ſaid, that that prince, ſtruck with remorſe for having put his ſon and his wife to death, having aſked Sopater, chief of the Platonic ſchool, and the Pagan pontiffs, whether the religion of the Gentiles had any expiation to efface ſuch crimes, anſwered him, that it had not; that, in conſequence, Conſtantine had a conference with a certain Ægyptian, who had come from Spain to Rome, and was well known to the women of the palace; that this Ægyptian and ſome biſhops aſſured him that the Chriſtian religion would give him what the Pagans refuſed him; and that there was no kind of wickedneſs which could not be waſhed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; and that, upon their anſwer, he embraced Chriſtianity, and declared himſelf its protector.

This relation proves that the Pagans did not conſider Conſtantine as a man without conſcience; and that, more equitable than our free-thinkers, they aſcribed his change, not to policy, but to conviction. If the ſtory were true, there would be no more pretence to inſult us for the faults of Conſtantine, as he muſt have committed them in the darkneſs of idolatry. But truth obliges me to ſay, that the fact cannot be ſupported. For, 1. as Sozomen remarks, the philoſopher Sopater, being well verſed in the religion of the Gentiles, could not be ignorant that it had ſome pretended expiations for ſuch cafes as that of Conſtantine.

4. 2. It

" boldly advance, for by ſprinkling them with
" water, I will immediately make them pure. And
" if

2. It is not credible that the pontiffs of the idols ſhould have been ſo ſilly as to lay him under an abſolute neceſſity of providing himſelf elſewhere. If they had not had expiations, they would have invented them, to quiet the conſcience of an Emperor whom they ſaw on the eve of deſerting them, and throwing himſelf into the arms of the Chriſtians. 3. Criſpus, Fauſta, and young Licinius died in 326; and in the year 312 Conſtantine acknowledged the Chriſtian religion as the only true one.

Julian was too well acquainted with the hiſtory of his family, and the æra of the converſion of Conſtantine, to have had in view a fable, which he conſidered as a fable, ſuppoſing that in his time it had been yet invented. I imagine therefore that this apoſtate introduces Criſpus vaunting the efficacy of baptiſm and repentance, in order to inſinuate, by that profane irony, that the proſpect of the reſources offered to ſinners by the Chriſtian religion had emboldened Conſtantine to ſhed the blood of his relations. It was a common calumny with the Pagans to ſay, that Chriſtianity favoured the corruption of men by promiſing pardon to the greateſt crimes; as if the goſpel promiſes any thing to incorrigible ſinners, or aſſures them that they ſhall have time and the will to reform.

This calumny is the more atrocious in the mouth of Julian, as, having been of the clergy, he muſt be better acquainted with the ſpirit of the church, with the wiſe precautions and long probations that ſhe employs to be aſſured of the converſion both of catechumens and of penitents. A religion, which did not offer to the moſt miſerable man a method of recovering the favour of God, would be an ineffectual religion, and little worthy of the goodneſs of God who would have all men ſaved. It would indeed favour corruption by plunging or leaving the guilty in deſpair. A religion, which ſhould pretend to efface crimes by mere ceremonies, without reforming the criminal, would be no more than a farce, a deſpicable palliative, likely to exaſperate the diſeaſe, but not to cure it. Chriſtianity obſerves the juſt mean. Adapted to the wants of mankind,

and

" if they ſhould relapſe, they need only ſmite
" their breaſts and beat their heads, and they will
" again be purified."

To

and worthy of the ſanctity of its author, it preſents men, to whatever abyſs of degradation and miſery vice may have reduced them, with a line which conducts them ſtrait to God, provided, and not elſe, that they become new men in and by Jeſus Chriſt. In all times, ſome, ſeparating the promiſe from the condition, have aſſumed, by a deplorable abuſe, a kind of title to ſin more boldly. But God forbid, that, on the word of an accuſer, who gueſſes and cannot prove, we ſhould think that Conſtantine was of that number, and that the expectation of baptiſm ſhould have influenced him to actions for which he is juſtly reproached! After all, it is not the fault of phyſic, if, from the uncertain hope of the aſſiſtance that it offers, ſome are ſo extravagant as to aggravate their diſeaſes.

Beſides the ſlanderous imputation juſt mentioned, I perceive in the words of Criſpus a ſatirical ſtroke which is not undeſerved. By the confeſſion of Euſebius (which is ſaying every thing) Conſtantine did not enough diſtinguiſh from true Chriſtians thoſe who embraced Chriſtianity only to make their fortunes. " By their hypocriſy and artifice," ſays Euſebius, " they inſinuated themſelves into the favour " of the Emperor, and much injured his reputation." Julian therefore here means to reproach Conſtantine for having over-looked every thing, and pardoned every thing, provided his religion was profeſſed. But why did not the cenſor perceive, that he himſelf is more juſtly entitled to the like cenſure? Neither the uncle nor the nephew had ſufficient delicacy as to their proſelytes. Yet they muſt have been well acquainted with a memorable ſtory of Conſtantius Chlorus. That prince, at the time when his collegues were perſecuting Chriſtianity with fire and ſword, aſſembled ſuch officers of his palace, and governors of his provinces, as were Chriſtians, and gave them the alternative, either of retaining their places, by ſacrificing to the Gods, or of loſing them by adhering to their religion. When they had all made their options, he ſaid to the prevaricators,

To this Goddeſs CONSTANTINE gladly devoted himſelf, and with her conducted his ſons out of the aſſembly of the Gods. But the Deities who puniſh atheiſm * and bloodſhed avenged on him and them the murder of their relations †, till Jupiter, in favour of CLAUDIUS ‡ and CONSTANTIUS, gave them ſome reſpite.

varicators, " You have baſe and venal minds. I caſhier " you, and baniſh you for ever from my palace. He who " betrays his conſcience is capable of betraying me. As " for you," ſaid he to the others, " I give you my eſteem " and confidence. A man is faithful to his prince and " the community when he is faithful to his God." He retained them in his ſervice, and entruſted them with the guard of his perſon, and the principal affairs of ſtate; conſidering them as his ſureſt friends and real treaſures. I ſhall conclude this long note, or rather diſſertation, with obſerving that M. de Tillemont queſtions whether Criſpus had received baptiſm. The ſpeech which Julian aſſigns to him leaves no room to doubt it. But it was not before perceived that it is Criſpus who ſpeaks in this paſſage.

LA BLETERIE.

Dr. Bentley, under the borrowed name of Philelutherus Lipſienſis, ſtyles this " a ridiculous and ſtale banter, uſed " by Celſus and others, before Julian, upon the Chriſtian " doctrines of baptiſm, and repentance, and remiſſion of " ſins," and has refuted it at large in his Remarks on a late diſcourſe of Free-thinking, § XLII.

* Julian treats the Chriſtians as atheiſts, becauſe they reject the plurality of Gods, and acknowledge one only.

LA BLETERIE.

† After the death of Conſtantine, the ſoldiers laid violent hands on his three brothers, and five of his nephews. Conſtantius was conſidered as guilty of this maſſacre, and Julian probably means to charge with it Conſtantine the younger alſo, and Conſtans. Be that as it may, the two latter made war on each other, and Conſtantine the younger was killed near Aquileia by the troops of Conſtans. That Conſtantius put Gallus to death is well known. *Ibid.*

‡ Claudius II. mentioned p. 167.

" As

" As for you," said Mercury, addressing himself to me, " I have introduced you to the know-" ledge of your father the Sun *; obey then his " dictates, making him your guide and secure " refuge, while you live; and when you leave " the world, adopt him, with good hopes, for " your tutelar God."

* Julian, as soon as he rose, always addressed a prayer to Mercury. He thought himself under the protection of that God. We have said in the preface, and shall again observe in another place, that by the Sun he understands the Demiurgus, or Logos. LA BLETERIE.

The

The following List of the Roman Emperors, from JULIUS CÆSAR to JULIAN, will give a succinct view of all that are mentioned, and all that are omitted, in the foregoing Satire.

		Before Xt.
1	JULIUS CÆSAR, died	44
		A. D.
2	AUGUSTUS	14
3	Tiberius	37
4	* Caligula	41
5	Claudius I.	54
6	* Nero	68
	[Vindex]	68
7	Galba	68
8	Otho	69
9	Vitellius	69
10	Vespasian	79
11	Titus	81
12	* Domitian	96
13	Nerva	98
14	TRAJAN	117
15	Hadrian	137
16	Antoninus Pius	161
17	MARCUS AURELIUS and Lucius Verus	180 169
18	† Commodus	193
19	Pertinax	193
20	*Julian* I.	193
21	Severus	211
22	* Caracalla and Geta	217 212
23	† Macrinus and Diadumenus	218 218
24	† Eliagabalus	222
25	Alexander Severus	235
26	* Maximin, died and *Maximus*	A. D. 238 238
27	*Pupienus* and *Balbinus*	238 238
28	*Gordian*	243
29	*Philip*	249
30	*Decius*	251
31	*Gallus*	252
32	† Valerian	260
33	† Gallienus	268
34	Claudius II.	270
35	Aurelian	275
36	*Tacitus*	276
37	Probus	282
38	† Carus	284
	† Carinus and † Numerian	285 284
39	Diocletian and Maximian } resigned	305
40	Constantius-Chlorus d. and † Galerius	306 311
41	† CONSTANTINE THE GREAT and † Licinius	337 323
42	† Constantine II.	340
	† Constantius and † Constans	361 350
43	JULIAN II.	363

N. B. Those marked † were excluded the assembly; those * were thrown into Tartarus; and those in Italicks are not mentioned. Vindex, though mentioned, was not Emperor. And Tiberius, Commodus, and Elagabalus, though they escaped Tartarus, deserved it.

The

The MISOPOGON, or the ANTIOCHIAN *.

ANACREON † composed many ludicrous poems ‡, the Fates having endowed him with a sportive vein. But neither Alcæus §, nor Archi- A. D. 363.

* Being jeered by the Antiochians, and several aspersions having been thrown on his beard in particular, Julian took his revenge in this satire, in which, by a figurative reprehension of himself, he drew his keen pen against the manners and luxury of the people of Antioch. This work, and its subject, are mentioned by Ammianus, *l.* XXII. Zosimus, *l.* III. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* II. on Julian, and Socrates, *l.* III. *c.* 17. PETAU.

It seems as if Julian meant in some sort to confound himself with his beard, which was so dear to him that it displeased the inhabitants of Antioch. After all, the title of a book frequently refers to some passage only in the work. LA BLETERIE.

Instead of abusing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn, he composed, under the title of "The Enemy of the Beard," an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire on the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publickly exposed before the gates of the palace, and the Misopogon still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion of Julian. GIBBON.

The satire of Julian, and the homilies of St. Chrysostom, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. *Ibid.*

In like manner, Hadrian, it is observable, was also much offended with the levity and petulance of the Antiochians, and had thoughts of disjoining Phœnicia from Syria, that their city might not continue the metropolis of so many others.

A Lyric

Archilochus * of Paros, were favoured by the Gods with a Muſe who had a talent for mirth and pleaſantry; for when they were oppreſſed with misfortunes, they had recourſe to the Muſes, and alleviated the weight of their cares by railing at their enemies. The law, however, forbids me, as well as every one elſe, to accuſe any by name ‖, even

† A Lyric poet of Teos, a city in Jonia, who wrote many more odes than are tranſmitted to us, as Horace ſays,—*perſæpe cavâ teſtudine flevit amorem.* Epod. XIV. 4.

‡ We read in the editions, "Anacreon made many "ſerious and ludicrous poems," χμελη σεμνα και χαριεντα. Whether this poet wrote any thing but ſongs, is the queſtion. By ſaying, that "Anacreon made ſome ſerious verſes," Julian would ſay the direct contrary of what he meant. I think therefore that the text ſhoul be corrected, and the word τερπνα ſubſtituted, or that we ſhould only read χαριεντα. In one of the MSS. of the King's library, which has been lent me, the words σεμνα και are not to be found; and the other informs the reader, that there are ſome MSS. in which thoſe words do not occur. LA BLETERIE.

§ A native of Mitylene. From him the Alcaic verſes derive their name. His pieces were ſevere ſatires againſt the tyrants of Lesbos, Pittacus in particular. His ſtyle, according to Quintilian, was lofty, and much reſembled that of Homer.

* See p. 131.

‖ The Roman laws, beginning with thoſe ſubſequent to the XII tables, condemn ſeverely the authors of defamatory libels. Julian, though in joke, is glad to ſhew that he has a republican ſpirit. He conſidered the Emperors as juſtly ſubject to all the laws, except thoſe with which they had ſpecifically diſpenſed. LA BLETERIE.

Perſonal ſatire was condemned by the law of the twelve tables.

Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt
Judiciumque. Hor.

Julian owns himſelf ſubject to the law, and the Abbè de la Bleterie has eagerly embraced a declaration ſo agreeable

even of thoſe, who, as I have in no reſpect injured them, are hoſtile aggreſſors. And, beſides, the mode of education, which is at preſent purſued by perſons of faſhion *, deprives me of the harmony

able to his own ſyſtem, and indeed to the true ſpirit of the Imperial conſtitution. GIBBON.

* I do not remember elſewhere to have read that poetry was then ſo much decried. However that might be, in Greece the age of verſe was not then over: witneſs St. Gregory Nazienzen, whoſe ſublime and truly Homeric poems prove that genius and enthuſiaſm require not the aſſiſtance of fable. Julian himſelf was a poet; and Libanius informs us, that there was a collection of verſes made by that prince to celebrate the arrival of ſome men of learning at his court. Two ſmall pieces of his writing are all that now remain. In one of them, he elegantly and forcibly deſcribes an organ, conſiſting, like ours, of pipes, bellows, and ſtops. The other is an epigram "againſt beer." It muſt have been made in the Gauls.

LA BLETERIE.

Of the latter, M. de la Bleterie has given a paraphraſe, or imitation, in French. The following are cloſe tranſlations of them both. The originals, as literary curioſities, are annexed.

The Emperor Julian on an Organ.

Reeds ſtrike my wond'ring eyes, unknown before,
Sprung from ſome brazen ſoil, ſome foreign ſhore;
Fruitleſs our efforts, for in vain we blow,
Till, from a cave of leather, winds below
To hollow pipes harmonious powers impart:
Then, if ſome maſter, in th' Orphéan art
Experienc'd, touch the well-according keys,
Inſtant they warble, and reſponſive pleaſe.

Ιȣλιανȣ Βασιλεως εις το οργανον.

Αλλοιην οροω δονακων φυσιν· ηπȣ απ' αλλης
Χαλκειης ταχα μαλλον ανεβλαστησαν αρȣρης.
Αργιοι, ȣδ' ανεμοισιν υφ' ημετεροις δονεονται,
Αλ λ' ὑπο ταυρειης προθορων σπηλυγγος ακτης

mony of numbers. For it seems now as dishonourable to cultivate poetry, as it was in former times to be unjustly rich.

I will

Νηρθεν εϋτρηλων καλαμων υπο ριζαν οδευει.
Και τις ανηρ αγερωχος *, εχων θοα δακτυλα χειρος,
Ιγαλαι αμφαφοων κανονας συμφραδμονας αυλων †·
Οι δ' απαλον σκιρτωντες αποβλιζουσιν αοιδην.

Mersennus has inserted a Latin translation of this epigram, in his lib. III. *De Organis*, p. 113. and Zarlino, who wrote in 1571, is of opinion, that the organ here mentioned was essentially the same with the organ of his time. But the introduction of it into churches is generally ascribed to Pope Vitellianus, who was advanced to the Pontificate, A. D. 663. Dr. Priestley indeed (History of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. II. p. 122.) by some mistake, supposes it to be introduced into churches by Marinus Sanutus so late as 1312. An organ is mentioned by Gervase the monk, who wrote in 1200, as having been sometime erected in Canterbury Cathedral, over St. Michael's chapel (*ubi organa solent esse*), and the foundation of its loft remains to this day. An hydraulic organ (of which Sir John Hawkins has given a sketch from Kircher) is described by Vitruvius, who lived in the reign of Augustus. The following note is from Dr. Burney.

The most ancient proof of an instrument resembling a modern organ blown by bellows, and played by keys, very different from the *Hydraulicon* (or water-organ) which is of much higher antiquity, is a Greek epigram in the *Anthologia*, attributed to the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who flourished about 364 ‡.

I shall here give a literal translation of this epigram, which, though it contain no very beautiful or poetical images, will answer the historical purpose of ascertaining

* A tall sturdy fellow, "alluding to the force necessary to beat down that kind of clumsy carillon keys of this rude instrument of new invention. BURNEY.

† The rulers of the pipes, literally *keys*. *Ibid.*

‡ This is a small chronological mistake, as Julian died in June, 363.

the

I will not, however, totally disclaim the assistance of the Muses. I have seen the barbarous nations beyond the Rhine delighted with the melody of savage music, whose notes resemble the dissonant screams of birds. Bad musicians disgust

the existence of an instrument in the fourth century, which in many particulars resembled a modern organ.

" I see reeds of a new species, the growth of another " and a brazen soil; such as are not agitated by our winds, " but by a blast that rushes from a leathern cavern be- " neath their roots; while a robust mortal, running with " swift fingers over the concordant keys, makes them, as " they smoothly dance, utter concordant sounds."

Nothing material is omitted in the version of this epigram, or rather enigma, upon the organ, though not a very ingenious one; for the word *αυλων*, *the pipes*, discovers the whole mystery. BURNEY.

The Emperor Julian on Barley-wine.

Who, what art thou? thy name, thy birth declare:
Thou art no Bacchus, I by Bacchus swear.
Jove's son alone I know, I know not thee;
Thou smell'st like goats, but sweet as nectar he.
In Gallia, thirsty Gallia, thou wert born,
Scanty of grapes, but prodigal of corn.
Bromus, not Bromius, styl'd, thy brows with corn,
As sprung from Ceres, not from Jove, adorn.

The turn, or pun, at the conclusion, cannot be preserved in English. *Bromius* was one name of Bacchus, from Βρεμω, " to rave," like the Bacchanals. And Julian gives the name of *Bromus* to beer, from Βρομος, " oats." Such, however, is the improvement of climates, that modern Gaul produces as much and as good wines as Italy; and Britain more and better beer than ancient Gaul.

Ιυλιανυ Βασιλεως εις οινον απο κριθης.

Τις; ποθεν εις, Διονυσε; μαγαρ τον αληθεα Βακχον,
Ου σ' επιγιγνωσκω· τον Διος οιδα μονον.
Κεινος νεκταρ οδωδε· συ δε τραγον. η ρα σε Κελτοι
Τη πενιη βολβυων τευξαν απ' αραχνων.
Τω σε χρη καλεειν Δημητριον, ω Διονυσον,
Πυρογενη μαλλον, και Βρομον, ω Βρομιον.

their hearers, but they are naturally pleasing to themselves. Reflecting on this, I have been wont to whisper to myself, not indeed with equal address, but, I am certain, with equal magnanimity, what Ismenias * said of old, "I will sing for the Muses "and myself." But my song is in prose, and will contain many bitter sarcasms, not on others, by Jupiter, (for how can that be, as they are illegal?) but on the author himself. For no law forbids my writing a panegyrick or satire on myself; though if I were desirous of praising myself, I could not, but blame I can in many instances.

And, first, I will begin with my face. To this, formed by nature not over beautiful, graceful, or becoming, my own perverseness and singularity have added this long beard †, to punish it, as it were,

* Ismenias was a very skilful player on the flute. Julian is the only one who ascribes to him this expression. Cicero, [in his Brutus, c. 50.] puts one very like it in the mouth of Antigenidas, another player on the flute, who, in order to encourage one of his scholars, whom the public did not relish, said to him, "Play for the Muses, and for me."

LA BLETERIE.

† Some friends, for whose understanding and taste I have the highest respect, supposing themselves to speak in the name of the nation, requested me to suppress entirely the idea which Julian here conveys. It is only by sufferance that they have allowed me to intimate it by one rapid word. For my own part, I was afraid of giving a handle to infidelity. Will the French delicacy go so far as to falsify authors? The more disgusting this passage of Julian is, the more it characterises him; and every thing that characterises, when it does not offend good manners or religion, should

were, for no other reaſon but becauſe Nature has not made it handſome. Therefore I ſuffer lice to ſcamper about it, like beaſts through a thicket: I cannot indulge myſelf in eating voraciouſly, and muſt be cautious of opening my mouth wide when I drink, leſt I ſwallow as many hairs as crumbs. As for kiſſing, and being kiſſed, they give me not the leaſt trouble.

Yet amongſt other inconveniences of my beard, this is one, that it prevents my joining pure lips to ſmooth, and, I think, much ſweeter lips, as was formerly obſerved * by one, who, inſpired by Pan

ſhould be ſacred to a tranſlator. As the notes admit any thing, here follows a faithful tranſlation of the paſſage in queſtion; excepting that the original calls the things by their name. [In the French tranſlation therefore φθειρας, "lice," are rendered by *de petits animaux incommodes*, "ſome "little troubleſome animals," which might as well be fleas. And why not *des inſectes*, or *de la vermine*?] That a Roman emperor ſhould boaſt of ſuch a circumſtance, and that he ſhould boaſt of it falſely, as I ſuppoſe, is, literally ſpeaking, a ſingular ſtroke, which paints Julian better than a thouſand volumes. LA BLETERIE.

The friends of the Abbè de la Bleterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to tranſlate this paſſage ſo offenſive to their delicacy. Like him, I have contented myſelf with a tranſient alluſion; but the little animal, which Julian names, "is a beaſt familiar to man, "and ſignifies love." [Shakſpeare, 2 Hen. IV.] GIBBON.

Mr. Gibbon's "tranſient alluſion" is "the ſhaggy and "populous beard," and "*la barbe longue et peuplée*" is the "rapid word" of M. de la Bleterie.

* Theocritus, Idyll. XII. 32.

Ος δε κε προσμαξη γλυκερωτερα χειλεσι χειλη, κ. τ. λ.

He who ſhall lips to lips moſt ſweetly join, &c.

ſpeaking of a garland that was preſented at the tomb of Diocles to the youth who gave the ſweeteſt kiſs.

and Calliope, made ſome verſes on Daphnis *. You ſay, that " it is only fit to twiſt into ropes." That I would readily allow, provided you could ſo artfully extract the briſtles, as to prevent their hurting your ſoft and tender fingers. Think not that this offends me; for I will give you a reaſon why I wear a chin like a goat, inſtead of making it ſmooth and bare like thoſe of beautiful boys, and of all women by nature lovely. You, ſuch is the delicacy, and perhaps ſimplicity, of your manners, even when old, imitate your ſons and daughters by ſtudiouſly ſhaving your chins, thus diſplaying the man by the forehead only, and not, like me, by the cheeks. But not contented with this length of beard, my head is alſo naſty and ſeldom combed, my nails are unpared, and my fingers are uſually black with ink. And, to tell you a ſecret, my boſom too is rough and hairy, like the mane of the lion, king of beaſts, nor have I ever made it ſmooth, ſuch is my meanneſs and illiberality. If I had any wart, I would readily diſcloſe it, as Cimon did, but at preſent in truth I have none.

* The ſon of Mercury, whoſe ſtory is ſung in the firſt Idyllium. Diodorus Siculus ſuppoſes him to have been the firſt author of bucolic poetry; and, agreeably to this, Theon, an old ſcholiaſt on Theocritus, in his note on the firſt Idyllium, ver. 141. mentioning Daphnis, ſays, " he " was the inventor of bucolics." Be that as it may, this Daphnis was probably the firſt ſubject of bucolic ſongs.

FAWKES.

Theocritus has alſo an epigram " to Daphnis ſleeping." The above is a note of the tranſlator.

Another

Another circumſtance, well known to you, I will alſo mention. Not ſatisfied with ſuch an uncomely perſon, I lead a very rigid life. I abſent myſelf from the theatres, through mere ſtupidity; nor do I allow a play at court, ſuch a dolt am I, except on the calends of the year *, when I reſemble a poor farmer bringing his rent, or taxes, to a rapacious landlord; and when I am there, I ſeem as ſolemn as at a ſacrifice †. As it is not long ſince you ſaw him, you may recollect the youth, the genius, and underſtanding of my predeceſſor ‡; my way of life, ſo different from his, is a ſufficient proof of my frowardneſs.

But to add ſomething farther; I have always hated horſe-races as much as a debtor hates the forum. Therefore I ſeldom reſort to them, except on the feſtivals of the Gods, nor do I ever paſs

* The calends of January were celebrated by the ancient Heathens with all kinds of public mirth and laſciviouſneſs, and for a long time were devoted by the Chriſtians to no very different amuſements. PETAU.

† There is in the original a ſentence which I omit. The paſſage is certainly faulty, and ſo it is thought to be by F. Petau. Literally tranſlated it would be thus: "I "have no poſſeſſions; and though I am ſtyled the great king, "like a præfect or duke, I am in fact a king, or general, of "players and charioteers." But this ſenſe does not connect with that which precedes and follows it. The MSS. have here given me no aſſiſtance. LA BLETERIE.

For the ſame reaſon it is alſo omitted here.

‡ Conſtantius. It is needleſs to ſay, this is ironical. The "genius and underſtanding" of Conſtantius Julian deſpiſed; and as to his "youth," he was 44 years old when he died.

the whole day there, as was the practice of my couſin *, my uncle †, and my brother ‡; but after ſeeing ſix races §, and that not with the keenneſs of a ſportſman, but, by Jupiter, with diſguſt and averſion, I depart with joy. But enough of my public conduct. And yet how few of my offences againſt you have I mentioned!

As to domeſtic affairs, ſleepleſs nights on ſtraw, and food leſs than enough, give a ſeverity to my manners, totally repugnant to a luxurious city ‖. Be not offended with me for this **. A great and fooliſh

* Conſtantius.

† Count Julian. See Epiſtle XIII.

‡ Gallus. Julian ſtyles him (as he was) "his half-brother."

§ Out of four and twenty, which was the uſual number. A twenty-fifth race, or *miſſus*, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four colours, ſtarted each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina curſus.

It appears that they ran five or ſeven times round the *meta*, and (from the meaſure of the *Circus Maximus* at Rome, the Hippodrome at Conſtantinople, &c.) it might be about a four-mile courſe. GIBBON.

‖ The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the ſevere diſcipline which he embraced, are diſplayed by Ammianus. (xvi. 5) who profeſſes to praiſe, and by Julian himſelf, who affects to ridicule, a conduct which in a prince of the family of Conſtantine might juſtly excite the ſurpriſe of mankind. *Ibid.*

** It may not be improper to add here the picture which Libanius draws of Julian's manner of life. "Always abſtemious, and never oppreſſed by food, he applied himſelf to buſineſs with the activity of a bird, and diſpatched it with infinite eaſe. In one and the ſame day he gave ſeveral audiences; he wrote to cities, to magiſtrates, to generals of armies, to his abſent friends, to thoſe who

"were

foolish mistake has from my childhood induced me to wage war with my stomach. I therefore never allow it to be filled with food. Consequently, to nothing am I so little addicted as to vomiting: and this, I remember, befell me once only since I became Cæsar; and that by accident, not repletion. It may not be amiss to relate the story, not that I think it entertaining, but as it was to me of the utmost consequence.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my dear Lutetia *; for so the Gauls call the town of the Parisians.

" were on the spot; hearing letters read that were addressed " to him, examining petitions, and dictating with such ra- " pidity, that the short-hand writers could not keep pace " with him. He alone had the secret of hearing, speaking, " and writing at the same time; and in this multitude of " complicated operations he never mistook. After having " dispatched business, and dined merely through urgent ne- " cessity, shutting himself up in his library, he read and com- " posed till the instant when affairs of state summoned him " to other labours. A supper still more sparing than the " dinner was followed by a sleep as light as his meals. " He awaked in order to labour with other secretaries " whom he had allowed to sleep on the preceding day. " His ministers were obliged to relieve each other; but, as " for himself, he knew no repose but the change of em- " ployment. He alone was always labouring, he multi- " plied himself, and assumed as many forms as Proteus. " Julian was pontiff, author, diviner, judge, general of " the army, and, in all these characters, the father of his " country." *Liban. Orat. Parent.* La Bleterie.

* Leucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city, which, according to the fashion of the IVth century, assumed the territorial appellation of *Parisii*.

The licentiousness and corruption of Antioch recalled to the memory of Julian the severe and simple manners of his " beloved

Pariſians. It is ſituated in a ſmall iſland; two wooden bridges lead to it, and the river ſeldom riſes or falls, but is generally of the ſame depth both in ſummer and winter. The water is very clear to the eye, and pure to the taſte *. This is of great importance

" beloved Lutetia;" where the amuſements of the theatre were unknown or deſpiſed. He indignantly contraſted the effeminate Syrians with the brave and honeſt ſimplicity of the Gauls, and almoſt forgave the intemperance which was the only ſtain of the Celtic character. If Julian could now reviſit the capital of France, he might converſe with men of ſcience and genius, capable of underſtanding and of inſtructing a diſciple of the Greeks; he might excuſe the lively and graceful follies of a nation, whoſe martial ſpirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury, and he muſt applaud the perfection of that ineſtimable art which ſoftens, and refines, and embelliſhes the intercourſe of ſocial life. GIBBON.

Worthy patriot! Enlightened philoſopher!

Whatever " ſoftens, refines, and embelliſhes" human life, in a proper degree, is certainly deſirable. But why muſt France be commended with ſuch warmth of approbation, as if ſhe poſſeſſed this " ineſtimable art" excluſively? I think in this poliſhed and enlightened age, the art is known and practiſed in England, as much as is conſiſtent with the national character, and the preſervation of that manly ſpirit which is neceſſary to the exiſtence of civil liberty; an " ineſtimable" bleſſing, which enlarges, and ennobles, and ſecures all the natural rights and enjoyments of human nature.

I cannot think it conſiſtent with a good citizen, and a lover of one's country, to admire and extol the " martial " ſpirit" of that nation, which is at this moment moſt hoſtile to all we hold dear, and which in the preſent war has behaved with ſuch perfidy as would ſtigmatiſe an individual in private life with perpetual diſgrace. KNOX.

* Julian gives the water of this river a better character than is uſually allowed it, in modern times at leaſt, and

importance to the inhabitants, as they are iſlanders. The winter there is extremely mild, which is attributed to the warmth of the ſea, it not being above ninety ſtadia diſtant *; ſo that wholeſome exhalations from the ocean are perhaps wafted thither, ſalt-water being warmer than freſh. Whether this be the reaſon, or ſome other unknown to me, ſuch is the fact, the inhabitants of that country have mild winters; good wines therefore are produced there, and ſome have even raiſed figs by covering them with mats by way of cloathing, and other ſuch preſervatives from the inclemency of the weather.

The winter was then uncommonly ſevere, and the river ſupported blocks, as it were, of marble, (you know, without doubt, the Phrygian quarries, which large flakes of ice †, floating on each other, greatly reſemble) forming a kind of continual paſſage and a ſtream of bridges. Being, on this occaſion, more booriſh than uſual, I would not ſuffer my ſervants to warm the chamber in which I

and eſpecially by foreigners. A late writer, a Frenchman too, expreſſes himſelf thus: "The Seine-water relaxes "the ſtomach of thoſe who are not uſed to it. Foreigners "generally ſuffer the inconvenience of a ſlight diarrhœa; "but they might avoid it if they had the precaution of "putting a ſpoonful of white vinegar into every pint of "water." *Tableau de Paris.*

* The calculation is juſt; but I will not be anſwerable for the natural philoſophy of the Pariſians of thoſe times. LA BLETERIE.

† The inhabitants of Antioch had never ſeen the river bear. *Ibid.*

ſlept,

ſlept, though the cold increaſed and grew every day more intenſe, leſt it ſhould draw the damp out of the walls. I only ordered ſome lighted brands, and a few live coals, to be carried in and placed there. Theſe exhaled ſo much vapour from the walls, that, my head being oppreſſed, I fell aſleep, and narrowly eſcaped ſuffocation. But being carried into the air, and, by the advice of my phyſicians, diſgorging the food that I had juſt ſwallowed, though I did not diſcharge much, I was immediately relieved, ſo as to paſs an eaſy night, and on the next day I was again fit for buſineſs.

Thus, while I reſided among the Gauls, like the Humouriſt * of Menander, I led an auſtere life. This, however, gave no offence to that ruſtic nation †. But ſuch a rich, flouriſhing, and populous city as yours is juſtly diſpleaſed; a city, in which are many dancers, many pipers, more players than

* Δυσκολος, the title of a comedy of Menander.

† Though the Gauls had long become Romans, foreign manners had not yet penetrated into the northern parts of Gaul. Politeneſs, with its advantages and inconveniences, makes the tour of the world. If Julian were now to reviſit his "dear Lutetia," would he take it for Antioch? No. He would find there ſo much love and reſpect for the ſovereign, that he would be ſoon undeceived.

LA BLETERIE.

Spoken like a Frenchman! Julian would never have thought highly of the ſenſe, or ſincerity, of a people who could "love and reſpect" ſuch a ſovereign as Louis XV. in whoſe reign the above note was written.

citizens, and no reſpect for ſovereigns. A bluſh befits only the puſillanimous; but ſuch heroes as you ſhould revel in the morning, purſue pleaſure at night, and not only teach by words, but ſhew by deeds, your utter contempt of the laws. Thoſe therefore, who, like you, inſult the prince, offer a ſtill greater inſult to the laws. That ſuch is your delight you frequently and clearly demonſtrate, particularly in the forum and the theatre; the people by ſhouts and clamour; the magiſtrates by their extravagance, which gains them more diſtinction and applauſe, from all to whom they have given theſe expenſive entertainments, than Solon, the Athenian, obtained from his converſation with Crœſus, king of Lydia *. All there are handſome, ſmooth and beardleſs; all, both young and old, imitate alike the happineſs of the Phæäcians †, and

Variety of dreſſes, baths, amours,

they prefer, without heſitation, to what is juſt and right.

ANTIOCHIAN. And do you think, Julian, that your ruſticity, ſavageneſs, and moroſeneſs are ſuit-

* Every one knows the journey which Solon took to the court of king Crœſus, and the truths which he dared utter to that prince, intoxicated, as he was, with opulence and grandeur. LA BLETERIE.

† The iſland of Phæäcia is now the iſland of Corfu. Homer, (Odyſſ. VIII. 249.) repreſents the Phæäcians as a nation given up to good cheer, luxury, muſic, dancing, and all kinds of pleaſure. *Ibid.*

able

able to us? O thou most ignorant and odious * of all men, is your temperate, little animal, as some mean mortals have styled your soul, so mad and foolish, that you think it requires the ornaments and trappings of wisdom? In this you are mistaken; for, first, tell us, as we know not, what wisdom is? With the name only we are acquainted, but of the meaning we are ignorant. If it be that which you now practise, it consists in enforcing subordination to the Gods and the laws, in teaching equals to bear with equals, in observing moderation, in preventing the poor from being oppressed by the rich, and, for these purposes, stifling resentment, encountering enmity, anger, reproaches; in short, supporting all these with firmness, without being provoked, or giving way to passion, but keeping it, as much as possible, in proper bounds, and under due subjection. And if it should also be deemed a branch of wisdom to renounce even those pleasures which are not unbecoming, nor seem dishonourable, from a persuasion that it is impossible for any one to be temperate at home, and in private, who is dissolute abroad, and in public, and enamoured of the theatre; if this too be wisdom, you ruin yourself, and you would also ruin us. The very name of

* Φιλαπεχθημονεστατε, "who art most fond of being hated." This is one of the many Greek words which can only be rendered by a periphrasis. M. de la Bleterie has translated it *le plus haïssable*. It occurs again in the close of this satire.

ſervitude either to the Gods or the laws diſguſts us. Liberty is ſweet in all things.

Of what prevarication are you guilty? You ſay, you are not Lord *, nor can you endure the name. You

* The word *dominus*, which the Greeks tranſlated by κυριος and δεσποτης [or "lord"] properly ſignified the power of maſters over their ſlaves. Under Auguſtus, children already gave that name to their father, ſometimes brothers gave it to their brothers, and wives to their huſbands, who returned them that of *domina*. Auguſtus ſuffered none but his ſlaves to give him that title, nor even his children and grand-children to treat him as "lord" by way of joke. *Dominum appellari ſe nec a liberis quidem aut nepotibus ſuis vel ſeriò vel joco paſſus eſt, atque hujuſmodi blanditias inter ipſos prohibuit.* Suet. Aug. Satisfied with having deſtroyed liberty, he ſcrupulouſly baniſhed every thing that could induce a thought of ſlavery. Some one having called Tiberius "Lord," he ſaid, with an angry look, that he did not like to be affronted. "I am," added he, "the prince of the ſenate, and the general of the "army; but I am lord only of my ſlaves." Caligula took the name of Lord, and even that of God. But none of the emperors who ſucceeded him, not even Nero, followed his example, till Domitian, who expreſsly commanded himſelf to be called Lord and God, both in letters and in ſpeech. One day, dictating an edict, he began it with theſe words, "Our Lord and our God ordains what fol-"lows." It appears, by the letters of Pliny the younger, that Trajan, averſe as he was to that impious pride, ſuffered himſelf, nevertheleſs, to be called Lord; but at that we muſt not be ſurpriſed. The more ſlavery augmented, the more complimentary the nation became. In the time of Seneca they gave each other the title of "Lord," almoſt as commonly as we give one another the appellation of "Sir," which is much leſs ſignificant. *Obvios, ſi nomen non ſuccurrit, dominos appellamus.* Men gave women that of *domina* as ſoon as they were fourteen years old. How it was uſed by the ſucceſſors of Trajan is not known. Certain it is, that Alexander, the ſon of Mammea, rejected the title of Lord as too oſtentatious.

You reſent it ſo much, that you have induced many, who were formerly accuſtomed to it, to baniſh it from the empire, as invidious; yet you oblige us to obey the magiſtrates and the laws. How much better would it be for us to call you Lord, but in fact to be allowed freedom! O mild in appearance *, but in deeds moſt cruel! How unmerciful

tatious. At laſt this name made part of the ceremonial of the court, and was inſerted even in the public monuments. It is affirmed, that it is not found on any medal till thoſe of Aurelian, and even on them it is rare: it is more common on thoſe of Carus, and frequent on thoſe of Diocletian, his collegues, and his ſucceſſors. Julian had not time to aboliſh it. It is read on many of his.

LA BLETERIE.

As Julian never aboliſhed, by any public law, the proud appellations of *Deſpot*, or *Dominus*, they are ſtill extant on his medals, (*Ducange*, *Fam. Byzantin. pp.* 38, 39.) and the private diſpleaſure which he affected to expreſs only gave a different tone to the ſervility of the court. The Abbé de la Bleterie has curiouſly traced the origin and progreſs of the word *dominus* under the Imperial government. GIBBON.

In the Hippolytus of Euripides, an officer ſays to that prince,

My royal Maſter, (for the Gods alone
Challenge the name of Lord,) &c.

on which Mr. Wodhull obſerves, after mentioning the practice of Auguſtus and Tiberius, that "we find, by the "Miſopogon of Julian, that he followed their example at "Conſtantinople" [rather Antioch] "in much later times, "ſurrounded, as he was, by Aſiatic ſlaves, inured to the "yoke, men to whom the ſight of a philoſopher on the "throne was ſo ſtrange, that they ridiculed that moderation "in the conduct of their ſovereign, which they felt themſelves incapable of imitating."

* In the original, ομματα ("eyes") perhaps for ονοματα ("names") for Julian was called by his friends πραοτατος και φιλοσοφωτατος, "the mildeſt and moſt philoſophical." Theod. l. III. c. 15. PETAU.

He

merciful is it to require moderation from the rich in the courts of juſtice, and to reſtrain the poor from ſlander! By aboliſhing the ſtage, the players, and the dancers, you have ruined our city, ſo that we have no conſolation left, except, after having groaned under your oppreſſions for ſeven months *, that of referring our prayers for a deliverance from ſo great an evil to the old women † who conſtantly frequent the tombs of the dead. But we have ſucceeded by our ſcurrility, transfixing you with ſarcaſms as with arrows. If you are thus intimidated by our taunts, how, noble Sir, will you be able to ſuſtain the darts of the Perſians?

But we will now exhibit another charge. You reſort frequently to the temples, perverſe, moroſe, and abandoned as you are. On your account, the populace, and even many of the magiſtrates, flock thither, and welcome you with ſhouts, acclamations, and all the ſplendid applauſes of the theatre. Why then are you not pleaſed? But, in-

He had probably in his view that line of Homer's Achilles,

—— Κυνος ομματ' εχων, κραδιην δ' ελαφοιο.

Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer,

as Pope tranſlates it.

* Julian arrived at Antioch in the month of July, 362. He therefore compoſed the Miſopogon in the month of January, or of February, 363. LA BLETERIE.

† The churches were generally built over the tomb of ſome martyr. Julian ſuppoſes that the women, more aſſiduous at the churches than the men, requeſted God by the interceſſion of the martyrs to deliver them from him. In that there might be ſome truth. *Ibid.*

ſtead of approving, you endeavour, in this reſpect, to be wiſer even than the Pythian *, by haranguing the people, and ſeverely reproving thoſe who clamour †; thus addreſſing the moſt active: "You "ſeldom enter the temples, through reverence to "the Gods, but when you reſort to them on my ac- "count, you fill their ſanctuaries with diſturbance. "Men of ſound minds ſhould pray and aſk bleſ- "ſings of the Gods in ſilence, obſerving this rule "of Homer,

"Silently pray ‡.

"Remember too that Ulyſſes checked Euryclea ||,

* The prieſteſs of Apollo, who delivered his oracles ſtanding on a tripod called Cortina, which was placed on the mouth of a hollow in Mount Parnaſſus, whence proceeded a vapour that affected the head; and round this hollow was built the temple of Delphi.

† In his LXIVth Epiſtle Julian reproves the people of Conſtantinople on the ſame account.

‡ In the VIIth book of the Iliad, ver. 193, &c. Ajax, ready to fight with Hector, ſays,

Now while my brighteſt arms my limbs inveſt,
To Saturn's ſon be all your vows addreſt.
But *pray in ſecret*, leſt the foes ſhould hear,
And deem your prayers the mean effect of fear.
Said I in ſecret? No, your vows declare,
In ſuch a voice as fills the earth and air. Pope, 229.

How could Julian find, in theſe words of Ajax, a law which enjoins to "pray in ſilence?" All the Greeks had the practice of quoting Homer at random. It is vexatious to ſee authors, infinitely more reſpectable than Homer, ſometimes quoted with as little propriety. LA BLETERIE.

|| Euryclea was the nurſe of Ulyſſes. See Odyſſ. XXII. 411.

"when

" when ſhe loudly expreſſed her aſtoniſhment at " the greatneſs of the deed ;

" Woman, experienc'd as thou art, controul
" Indecent joy, and feaſt thy ſecret ſoul *.

" None of the Trojans in the Iliad, neither " men nor women, are made ſuppliant to Priam, " or to any one of his daughters, or ſons, not " even to Hector, though it is ſaid they extolled " him as a God : but to Minerva all the women, " he ſays,

" With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
" Fill all the dome with ſupplicating cries †.

" This, indeed, was ſuitable to Barbarians and " women, but was no impiety towards the Gods, " ſuch as you commit by praiſing mortals like " Gods, or rather flattering us more than Gods ; " when, inſtead of flattering even them, you had " much better worſhip them wiſely."

JULIAN. I repeat, you ſee, one of thoſe remonſtrances which I have been accuſtomed to make, and, inſtead of ſpeaking boldly and freely, with my uſual abſurdity, I bear falſe witneſs againſt myſelf. Are theſe, and the like, proper leſſons for thoſe who would treat with freedom not only princes, but alſo the Gods? Can they deem any one a mild and benevolent parent, who is naturally wicked like me?

* Pope, 448.

† Iliad. VI. 301. Pope, 374.

ANT. It is plain then, Julian, that they hate you, and that they jeer you both in public and private, since those who see and applaud you in the temples you deem flatterers. You have not studied how to accommodate yourself to their ideas, lives, and manners. Well, but who can excuse this? You sleep almost every night alone *, nor can

* Καθευδεις ως επιπαν νυκτωρ μονος. "You sleep *almost always* "alone." How is this "*almost always*" to be reconciled with the perfect continence which the Pagan authors ascribe to Julian, and which none of the Christian writers, not even St. Gregory Nazianzen himself, deny? Mamertinus scruples not to say that "the bed of that prince was "purer than that of the Vestals." If we believe Libanius, Julian never had the least frailty, either before his marriage, or after the death of his wife Helena. What that orator says is susceptible of no ambiguity or exception; I will content myself with quoting the Latin translation of Fabricius: *Nisi conjugii vinculis à Junone fuisset innexus, de mutuis hominum amplexibus, non aliâ ratione quam ex libris sermonibusque edoctus, moriturus fuisset . . . . Legitimam quidem luxit uxorem; aliam vero nullam, sive antea, sive post fœminam attigit*, &c.

It may be replied, that Mamertinus and Libanius are panegyrists. But what shall we say of Ammianus, whose testimony is as positive as that of Libanius? Ammianus is a most judicious historian, and does not spare Julian for any of his faults. He knew him perfectly, and seems even to have interrogated, on the point in dispute, those domestics of Julian to whom his frailties, supposing he had any, could not but be known. *Ita inviolatâ castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem*, nihil unquam *venereum agitaret . . . ut ne suspicione quidem tenùs libidinis ullius vel* citerioris vitæ ministris *incusaretur*. Ammianus was of Antioch. Though he wrote in Latin, he was better acquainted with Greek. He had read the Misopogon. Perhaps then Martinius, the Latin translator of this satire, M. de Fleury, M. de Tillemont,

5

can any thing ſoften your ſavage and brutal diſpoſition. You have cloſed up all the avenues of pleaſure,

mont, and myſelf tranſlate this paſſage of Julian improperly, and the Greek words ως επιπαν do not ſignify here "almoſt always," but "always," abſolutely. At leaſt, it is certain that επιπαν occurs in both ſignifications. In this caſe, I ought to have tranſlated it, "You never ſhare "your bed with any one." I think, however, that it ought to be tranſlated, as I have done, "You ſhare ſcarce ever." This reſtriction ſeems to me a refined but ſevere raillery againſt the inhabitants of Antioch, from which nothing can be inferred againſt the chaſtity of Julian. It is in their name that he abuſes himſelf. He muſt therefore ſpeak their language. Throughout the whole ſatire he repreſents them as perſons immerſed in debauchery, and abandoned to the moſt infamous pleaſures. People of this character do not believe in virtue. They ſuppoſe all men to be vicious, and that they only differ in vice as to the more and the leſs. On the part of Julian, whoſe morals were ſuperior to all ſuſpicion, it is a ſtroke of pleaſantry to repreſent his enemies as perſuaded that his wiſdom ſuffered eclipſes, and making, nevertheleſs, his exceſs of wiſdom a crime in him. M. de Tillemont, who underſtands the text in queſtion literally, and conſiders it as a confeſſion, which Julian himſelf makes, of his incontinence, obſerves, in order to ſtrengthen this pretended avowal, that Julian, in an Epiſtle to the philoſopher Jamblicus [the XLth] ſpeaks of the man "who nurſed his children." This learned writer adds, that Codin, in his Antiquities of Conſtantinople, mentions ſome ſtatues of Julian and his children. "Now," ſays M. de Tillemont, "he never "had any legitimate, excepting a ſon, who was deſtroyed "by the midwife that was ſuborned by the empreſs Euſebia: "the fact is certain; he therefore had ſome illegitimate."

Let us briefly examine theſe two difficulties, always remembering that the Pagans, on the one ſide, paſs an elogium on the chaſtity of Julian, the completeſt, the moſt forcible, and the moſt excluſive of the leaſt reſtriction; and that, on the other ſide, the Chriſtians, far from controvert-

pleaſure, and, which is the greateſt of evils, you delight in leading ſuch a rigid life, and make pleaſure the ſubject of your deteſtation. In ſhort, you are angry at the mention of this, though you ought rather to thank thoſe who have kindly and harmoniouſly admoniſhed you in anapæſts, firſt, to ſhave thoſe cheeks, and then, having begun with yourſelf, to exhibit all pleaſurable entertainments to this laughter-loving people, ſuch as players, dancers, and, in particular, lewd women, public aſſemblies, and feſtivals, not ſacred indeed, in which wiſdom and temperance muſt be obſerved *, for theſe are as abundant as acorns, ſo as to occaſion a general diſguſt.

JULIAN. The Emperor, I allow, ſacrificed once in the temple of Jupiter, and afterwards in that of

ing thoſe elogiums, have not ſaid a word that can render them ſuſpected. This eſtabliſhed, what ſtreſs ought to be laid on the mere indication of a modern Greek, ſuch as George Codin, who is known to have ſurvived the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II.? If Julian had had baſtards, would he have erected ſtatues to them? Would he, who ſaid, that "incontinence is ſufficient to tarniſh "the beſt life," have publiſhed his own ſhame, and that of his children, in tender age? &c. LA BLETERIE.

For what is ſaid on the paſſage above-mentioned in the XLth Epiſtle, ſee the notes on that Epiſtle.

This ſuſpicious expreſſion (ὡς ἔπιπαν) is explained by the Abbè de la Bleterie, with candour and ingenuity. GIBBON.

* This is not abſolutely contrary to what is related of the extravagant proceſſions of Julian on the feſtivals of Venus and others. All the Pagan feſtivals were not ſo licentious as thoſe of Venus. LA BLETERIE.

Fortune,

Fortune *. He alſo went thrice to that of Ceres. I forget how often I went to the temple of Daphne, that auguſt fabrick which was betrayed by the treachery of the keepers, and by the preſumption of the impious †. On the Syrian calends ‡, Cæſar goes

* Genius and Fortune were *Dii Contubernales*, and had temples dedicated to them jointly. See *Pauſan. Bœotic.* p. 313. Hence what Ammianus calls *Genii templum* (XXIII. 1.) Julian here ſtyles ψυχης, the one a male, the other a female, deity, the images of both being ſet up together. Modern antiquaries, as well as artiſts, by a kind of mythological ſoleciſm, have confounded that diſtinction, who call a female deity the Genius of a city. BOWYER.

† After Babylas (a biſhop of Antioch, who died in priſon in the perſecution of Decius) had reſted near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæſar Gallus, was tranſported into the midſt of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the ſacred lands was uſurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Chriſtians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their biſhop; and the prieſts of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As ſoon as another revolution ſeemed to reſtore the fortune of Paganiſm, the church of St. Babylas was demoliſhed, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raiſed by the piety of Syrian kings. But the firſt and moſt ſerious care of Julian was to deliver his oppreſſed deity from the odious preſence of the dead and living Chriſtians, who had ſo effectually ſuppreſſed the voice of fraud or enthuſiaſm. The ſcene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the miniſters of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modeſt behaviour, which might have aſſuaged the jealouſy of an hoſtile government, was, on this occaſion, neglected by the zeal of the Chriſtians. The lofty car, that tranſported the relics

of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received by an innumerable multitude; who chanted with thundering acclamations, the Pſalms of David the moſt expreſſive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the ſaint was a triumph; and the triumph was an inſult on the religion of the Emperor, who exerted his pride to diſſemble his reſentment. During the night which terminated this indiſcreet proceſſion [22 Oct. 362.] the temple of Daphne was in flames, the ſtatue of Apollo was conſumed, and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Chriſtians of Antioch aſſerted, with religious confidence, that the powerful interceſſion of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven againſt the devoted roof; but as Julian was reduced to the alternative of believing either a crime or a miracle, he choſe, without heſitation, without evidence, but with ſome colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galileans. GIBBON.

Julian (in Miſopogon) rather inſinuates, than affirms, their guilt. Ammianus (XXII. 13.) treats the imputation as *leviſſimus rumor*, and relates the ſtory with extraordinary candour. *Ibid.*

I do not find that Ammianus treats this report in the manner here affirmed. All that he ſays of it is this: *Suſpicabatur enim id Chriſtianos egiſſe, ſtimulatos invidiâ, quòd idem templum inviti videbant ambitioſo circumdari periſtylio.* "For "he ſuſpected the Chriſtians to have been the perpetrators, "urged to it by envy on ſeeing reluctantly that temple "ſurrounded by a ſpacious periſtyle." Then follows, *Ferebatur autem, licèt rumore leviſſimo, hâc ex cauſâ conflagraſſe delubrum*, &c. "But it was reported, though *on the ſlighteſt* "*grounds*, that this was the cauſe of the fire: The phi- "loſopher Aſclepiades, being on a viſit to Julian, and "going to that ſuburb, as he was uſed to carry with him, "wherever he went, a ſmall ſilver image of Juno, placed "it at the feet of the great image, and lighting wax tapers, "as uſual, departed; from which, in the middle of the "night, when no one could attend or aſſiſt, ſparks flying "adhered to the very ancient materials," &c. To this ſtory therefore, and not that of the Chriſtians, the *leviſſimus rumor* is applied.

‡ As in the concluſion of the Miſopogon, Julian reckons the Macedonian month *Loüs* the tenth of the Syrian year, this

goes again to the temple of Jupiter Philius *. Then comes the general feſtival †, and Cæſar goes to the temple of Fortune. Omitting an inauſpicious

this year began with the month *Dius*. In the Syrian year, which is uſed by Euſebius, St. Epiphanius, Euagrius, Malela, &c. the month Dius anſwers to the month of November. But perhaps the city of Antioch had a Syrian year that was peculiar to it. In different Macedonian cities, the month Dius anſwered to different Roman months. It is certain that the Syrian year of Antioch began in autumn. We cannot, however, poſitively aſſert in which of the Roman months, September, October, or November. This is the reſult of ſome learned and judicious obſervations communicated to me by a friend to whom I owe ſeveral of my remarks. LA BLETERIE.

* The patron of friendſhip, the ſame with *Hoſpitalis*, " a bearded face, with a placid look, to denote," ſays Triſtan, " that true friendſhip is the reſult of age." He had a temple at Antioch, where Julian ſacrificed to him more than once, during his reſidence there; pleaſed, no doubt, to have ſo good an authority for his beard, which as the inhabitants little regarded in Jupiter, no wonder they ridiculed in the Emperor. BOWYER.

† The calends of January [mentioned above, p. 231.] when the conſuls entered on their office, and the prieſts, in a ſolemn proceſſion, offered vows for the public ſafety of the empire, or of the Roman ſenate and people.

This therefore Libanius, in like manner (in his deſcription of the calends), ſtyles " a general feſtival to all who " live under the Roman government." SPANHEIM.

This day was deemed a feſtival throughout all the Roman world, though all did not begin the year with it. For inſtance, the Romans then commenced the year with Dius, which anſwers to the Julian November: Therefore, in the above paſſage of Julian ἡ Συρων Νεομηνια, (" the Syrian " calends,) are the firſt day of the month Dius. This paſſage has been miſunderſtood by Martinius, the [Latin] tranſlator. VALOIS.

day,

day *, he again pays his vows in the temple of Jupiter Philius, after the manner of his anceſtors †. Who can endure Cæſar's going ſo frequently to the temples, when the Gods ſhould be troubled only once or twice to celebrate thoſe feſtivals which are common to all the people, and of which not only they who honour the Gods, but they alſo with whom the city is filled, participate ‡? What an exquiſite pleaſure and delight does every one conſtantly enjoy in the ſight of a number of dancing men, dancing women, and dancing boys!

Reflecting on theſe things, I cannot but think you happy in ſuch diverſions, and yet I am by no means diſſatisfied with myſelf; for the life I lead, by the influence perhaps of ſome God, is to me agreeable. Believe me, therefore, far from being offended with thoſe who reprobate my life and manners, I even add to their ſarcaſms as many as poſſible, and accumulate on myſelf more reproaches for being ſuch a fool as not to perceive at firſt what were the manners of this city, eſpecially as none of my contemporaries, I am certain, are more converſant with books than myſelf.

* Jan. 2. The days immediately following the calends, nones, and ides were reckoned inauſpicious. *Ov. Triſt.* I. 55. *et ſeq.*

† On Jan. 3, when ſolemn vows were offered for the ſafety of the prince.

‡ He means the games and ſhews at which the Chriſtians, as well as the Gentiles, were preſent, to the great offence of the moſt holy prelates; which St. Chryſoſtom, among others, frequently mentions. PETAU.

It

It is related that the king who was nameſake to this city, or rather, to whom it owes its name (for it was built by Seleucus *, but takes its name from his ſon), Antiochus I mean, from an exceſſive indulgence in luxurious delights, always loving and being loved, was at length illegally enamoured of his mother-in-law †. He wiſhed to conceal his paſſion, but could not; his body being emaciated, and ſecretly decaying, his ſtrength failing, and his mind being languid. His caſe ſeemed myſterious, the diſorder having no apparent cauſe, and the nature of it not being known. The young man's illneſs, however, being certain, the great difficulty propoſed to a Samian phyſician ‡ was, to diſcover what the diſtemper was. He, ſuſpecting from Homer what are "the limbs-conſuming cares §", and that anxiety of mind, not weakneſs of body, is often the cauſe of bodily decay, and obſerving the youth, as well by years as conſtitution, to be not averſe to love, took this method to diſcover the diſeaſe. He ſat down by the bed-ſide, and looking the young man ſtedfaſtly in the face, he deſired ſome beautiful women to be introduced, beginning

* Seleucus Nicator.

† Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and wife of Seleucus.

‡ Eraſiſtratus.

§ Γυιοβόροι μελεδῶνες, "the anxieties that devour the body." I do not find the word γυιοβόροι in the Index of Homer, made by Wolfgangus Seberus. If the Index be not faulty, Julian is miſtaken, or quotes ſome work of Homer which we do not poſſeſs. LA BLETERIE.

with

with the queen. As ſoon as ſhe appeared, or as ſoon as he ſaw her, the youth betrayed ſome ſymptoms of his diſorder; he breathed ſhort, as if he had been aſthmatic, with his utmoſt endeavours he could not avoid trembling, great was the evident agitation of his mind, and his face was covered with bluſhes. The phyſician, obſerving this, applied his hand to his patient's breaſt, and found his heart beat violently, as if it would burſt forth. Such were his ſenſations while the queen was preſent. But when ſhe had withdrawn, while the others were paſſing by, he remained tranquil, and ſeemed in perfect health. Having thus diſcovered his malady, Eraſiſtratus communicated it to the king, and he, being an affectionate father, ſaid, he would reſign his wife to his ſon. He then refuſed it; but his father dying not long after, the preſent, which, when offered him before, he nobly declined, he then very eagerly ſeized *. Such was the conduct of Antiochus.

That his deſcendants therefore ſhould imitate their founder, or, at leaſt, their nameſake, is not blameable. For, as in plants, it is probable that the qualities are widely diffuſed, and perhaps thoſe which are produced altogether reſemble thoſe

* Plutarch relates the ſtory differently in his life of Demetrius. For he ſays, that Antiochus, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, married his mother-in-law in the life-time of his father. PETAU.

which

which produce them; so, among men *, the manners of the descendants are likely to be similar to those of their ancestors. Of the Greeks I think the Athenians the most liberal and humane; though all the Greeks, I have observed, are the same, and I can truly affirm of them, that of all men they are the greatest lovers of the Gods, and most hospitable to strangers; but of the Greeks, I give this testimony chiefly to the Athenians. And if they retain in their manners the resemblance of ancient virtue, why may not the same similitude be traced in the Syrians, the Arabians, the Gauls, the Thracians, the Pannonians, and that nation which is situated between the two latter on the banks of the Danube? I mean the Mysians, the stock from which I am descended †, who are absolutely inelegant, boorish, austere, uncivilised, and obstinately tenacious of their opinions, all which are proofs of lamentable rusticity.

First, therefore, I ask pardon for myself, for imitating the manners of my ancestors, and then I grant it to you for the same offence; nor do I mention, as a reproach, your being

In lying and in wanton dances skill'd ‡.

* The inhabitants of Antioch were nothing to Antiochus. The kind of argument which Julian here employs must not be understood seriously. It is a mere joke. La Bleterie.

† Eutropius, the great grandfather of Julian, and the father of Constantius-Chlorus, was of the province of Mysia. *Ibid.*

‡ Iliad. xxiv. 261. Priam's reproach of his nine surviving sons.

On

On the contrary, your following the examples and ſtudies of your fathers I think much to your honour. Thus Homer alſo, praiſing Autolycus, ſays, that he excelled all men

In thieving and in ſwearing *.

* Homer, in the xixth book of the Odyſſey, v. 396, ſays, that Autolycus, the maternal grandfather of Ulyſſes, excelled other men, κλεπτοσυνη θ'ορκωτε, "in theft and oaths." Mad. Dacier, on this paſſage, ſays, in effect, that the word κλεπτοσυνη may ſignify not only "theft," but alſo "cunning, "addreſs, ſtratagem, ſkill to conceal the knowledge of "his ſchemes, to penetrate the ſecrets of others, &c. "and that Homer meant to ſay that Autolycus was a very "acute politician, an artful prince, an able negociator, who "knew how to make treaties to his advantage, but, on the "whole, was faithful to his word, and one who reſpected "his oaths." Admitting the charitable explanation of Mad. Dacier, it is unfortunate for him to have been praiſed by Homer in equivocal terms; for the knavery of Autolycus has grown proverbial. Martial, ſpeaking of a thief, ſays, *Non fuit Autolyci tam piceata manus.* LA BLETERIE.

Dr. Clarke (on the above line in the Odyſſey) underſtands it, however, as a commendation; and Fenton, agreeably to the ſame interpretation, has, in his tranſlation, aſcribed to Autolycus

——————— a mighty name
For ſpotleſs faith, and deeds of martial fame. 456.

Shakſpeare, on the contrary, has given his name to a roguiſh pedlar: "My father," ſays he, "named me "Autolycus, who being, as I am, littered under Mercury, "was likewiſe a ſnapper-up of unconſidered trifles."

Winter's Tale, Act IV. Sc. II.

Euripides had two dramas (now loſt) named Autolycus, the firſt ſatyric (as we learn from Julius Pollux) of which a fragment is preſerved by Galen and Athenæus. Barnes and Dr. Muſgrave ſuppoſe that it derives its name from this Autolycus; but from what is tranſmitted to us, Mr. Wodhull, who has tranſlated it, thinks, with more probability, that another Autolycus, a champion in the public games, was its hero.

And

And ſo, you ſay, do I in ruſticity, obſtinacy, moroſeneſs, in not being eaſily ſoftened by ſupplications, or induced by intreaties or clamours, to mind my buſineſs. With theſe reproaches I am not in the leaſt offended. Which of us is the moſt excuſable is known to the Gods, but no man can determine between us, ſuch is our ſelf-love, every one admiring his own endowments, and deſpiſing thoſe of others. But he, who bears with indulgence a courſe of life the reverſe of his own, ſeems to me the moſt benevolent.

[On reflection, I find that, in ſome other particulars, I have been much my own enemy. For when I came to a free city, which could not endure the naſtineſs of my hair, I came to it uncombed and bearded, as if barbers had been wanting *. You would have taken me for Smicrines or Thraſyleon †, a moroſe old man, or a frantic

* Soon after his entrance into the palace of Conſtantinople, Julian had occaſion for the ſervice of a barber. An officer, magnificently dreſſed, immediately preſented himſelf. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, "that "I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances." He queſtioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that, beſides a large ſalary, and ſome valuable perquiſites, he enjoyed a daily allowance of twenty ſervants, and as many horſes. GIBBON.

Libanius ſays, that a thouſand cooks, as many barbers (κουρεας ουκ ελαττους), more cup-bearers, &c. were diſtributed in the ſeveral offices of luxury which Julian aboliſhed or retrenched.

† Theſe were probably two comic characters of Menander, as Caſaubon (*Animadv. in Athenæum*, *l.* vi. *c.* 12.) mentions

frantic ſoldier, when I might have appeared, by the ornamental advantages of dreſs, a handſome boy, or, at leaſt, a youth, if not in years *, in effeminacy and features †.]

ANT. You know not how to aſſociate with men; you adopt not the maxims of Theognis ‡, nor imitate (as he recommends) the changeful polypus §,

mentions a comedy by that poet named Thraſyleon. He adds, that there was one of the ſame name in Latin by Turpilius, a tranſlation, he ſuppoſes, from Menander, which is often quoted by Nonius.

* When Julian firſt came to Antioch, he was thirty-one years old.

† The paragraphs between [ ] are omitted here, and removed lower, by the French tranſlator. They ſeem indeed a repetition of what was ſaid at the beginning, yet I do not think myſelf warranted to tranſpoſe them, though I thoroughly aſſent to the propriety of the following remark of M. de la Bleterie, as an excuſe for the incorrectneſs of the author, but not for the corrections of his tranſlator: "In general, the Miſopogon is a little unſewed, "and the repetitions in it are too frequent. It was com- "poſed perhaps in the ſpace of one or two nights. Julian "was too much employed to be an author by premedi- "tation. When an author ſcarce reads what he writes, "we cannot wonder at tautology."

‡ Theognis, a poet of Megara, lived about 550 years before the Chriſtian æra. We have ſome ſentences, or maxims, by him, in elegiac verſe. LA BLETERIE.

§ Ulyſſes, clinging to a cliff, is compared to this fiſh by Homer, Odyſſ. V. 432. Ariſtotle, and others, ſuppoſe, that it changes its colour, in order more eaſily to catch its prey, or from fear. St. Paul, who, for good reaſons *became all things to all men*, is on that account, compared to a polypus by Julian in his work againſt the Chriſtian religion, preſerved and confuted by Cyril. But its more extraordinary power of re-production was reſerved for the ſpeculation of modern naturaliſts.

which

which assumes the colour of rocks, but, on the contrary, you behave to all with the proverbial rusticity, folly, and moroseness of a Myconian *. Know you not, that we are widely different from the Gauls, the Thracians, and the Illyrians? This city, you see, abounds with shops. But you provoke the retailers by not suffering them to extort, both from natives and foreigners, what price they please for provisions. They complain of the landholders †; but these also you make your enemies,

* Archilochus of Paros writes, that Pericles used to come uninvited to the entertainments of others, after the manner of the Myconians, who inhabiting a barren island [in the Archipelago] were notorious for their avarice and rusticity. ATHENÆUS.

On this proverb see Eustathius (*in Odyss.* XVII.) Suidas, and Zenobius. PETAU.

† This passage is obscure. What follows may explain it. Ammianus says (*l.* XXII.) that Julian, "with no "apparent reason, for the sake of popularity, endea- "voured to make all commodities cheap, which some- "times, by improper management, occasions dearth and "famine." Nor could the magistrates of Antioch dissuade him. By fixing therefore a lower price on things that were to be sold, he made the retailers his enemies. And when those retailers, being charged with the unreasonableness of their demands, complained that they bought corn and provisions dearer of the landholder, he compelled them also, by the same edict, to make abatements. This severity and rigour, exercised against these two ranks, extended to the chief men of the city and the magistrates, who supplied the markets, and owned the lands. And thus they were doubly mulcted. *Ibid.*

The magistrates of Antioch perhaps condescended to sell wine themselves by retail, like some of the present nobility of Florence, as mentioned by Lord Corke, Dr. Smollett, and other travellers.

by obliging them to be juſt. The magiſtrates, who, availing themſelves of both theſe diſtreſſes, rejoiced before at receiving double profits, both as landholders and as retailers, now, on being deprived of both theſe advantages, are equally exaſperated. The Syrians too, at being precluded both from drinking immoderately and dancing laſciviouſly, are no leſs enraged; but by giving them bread in plenty, you think they are ſufficiently regaled. And ſo gracious are you, that you are not contented with procuring them oyſters only.

When a complaint was lately made, that no fiſh, and ſcarce any poultry, could be procured in the markets, you ſaid, with a ſneering laugh, that "a frugal city ought to be ſatisfied with bread, "wine, and oil; that meat was a dainty; but "fiſh and poultry were more than dainties, and "would not have been indulged even to the ſuitors "in Ithaca." Thus you would have us deem pork and mutton luxuries, and ſubſiſt, like you, on vegetables *, thinking that in this you govern well, and

* In the time of Julian, the philoſophers of the reigning ſect, who had blended the Ægyptian and Chaldean tenets with Platoniſm and the ruins of the doctrine of Pythagoras, tranſmitted by a very uncertain tradition, thoſe philoſophers, I ſay, or rather the moſt perfect among them, adopted a very auſtere mode of life, which made part of the doctrine which was revealed, in the myſteries, to the initiated. As Orpheus paſſed for the firſt inſtitutor of the myſteries, it was pretended that this kind of life was that which

and are giving laws to your Thracian countrymen, or to thoſe ſtupid Gauls, who, by their education, have made you a mere block of holm or maple, not a Marathonian but half an Acharnian * warrior, one

which Plato and ſome other ancients have mentioned under the name of "Orphic life," Ὀρφικὸς βίος. This life, which Porphyry preaches in his book, *De abſtinentiâ animalium*, conſiſted in the practice of moral virtues, added to the privation of things allowed in common life. The Orphics muſt have reſembled the Ægyptian prieſts and the Bramins. Julian had not embraced the Orphic life, but he endeavoured to approach near it. To what I have elſewhere ſaid of his extreme frugality, I will add here what I find in his funeral oration. See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius, *vol.* VII. *p.* 309, 310. "What private philoſopher "in his cottage," ſays Libanius, "ever practiſed an ab- "ſtinence ſo rigorous as that of this Emperor? Who de- "prived himſelf more often than he, ſometimes of one "food, ſometimes of another, in honour of Pan, of Mer- "cury, of Hecate, of Iſis, of all the deities? Who, like "him, ever took delight in abſtaining frequently from all "nouriſhment? Thus he lived in an intimate connection "with the Gods . . . his body not allowing him to raiſe "himſelf to heaven, they deſcended on earth to converſe "with him. They came to inſtruct him in what he ſhould "do or forbear. . . . He had no occaſion for human "wiſdom or underſtanding. The immortal beings, who "know every thing, were both his council and his guard. "By them he was almoſt always ſurrounded." After this quotation, to which I could add many ſimilar, no one, I fancy, will have the leaſt doubt of the fanaticiſm of Julian any more than of that of his panegyriſt. La Bleterie.

* The Acharnians (ſo one of the tribes of Athens was called) were valiant, but rough and hardy. In the comedy of Ariſtophanes, entitled the Acharnian, ſome old men of that tribe are ſtyled "men of oak and maple, ſoldiers "of Marathon;" meaning invincible warriors. The inhabitants of Antioch, in alluſion to this paſſage of the comic poet, reproach Julian for having the hardineſs, the

one generally odious and diſguſtful. Was it not better for you to walk the forum, ſcented with perfumes, and preceded by beautiful boys, and thus to attract the eyes of the citizens, and bands of women, ſuch as you ſee aſſembled every day *?

Jul. But to look wantonly, caſting my eyes on all ſides, and to appear beautiful to you in perſon, not in mind, my principles will not allow me. "The true beauty of the mind conſiſts," you ſay, "in the enjoyment of life." But my governor taught me, when I attended maſters, to behold the ground, not the ſtage, and to cheriſh the hairs of my chin more than thoſe of my head. And even

unpoliteneſs, the roughneſs, of the Acharnians, without the courage of thoſe brave Attic peaſants. To theſe ideas, which are purely Greek, I have ſubſtituted ſome that are equivalent. La Bleterie.

In this tranſlation the Greek ideas are retained. As Julian is the ſpeaker, let him ſpeak as a Greek or Roman, and not like a Londoner or Pariſian. Though it is not uncommon with us to ſay, in like manner, of thoſe who are hardy, that they are "made of iron and ſteel;" and thus Charles XII. was ſtyled by the Turks, "iron-head," and by Dr. Johnſon, "a frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire."

* Nothing could equal the feſtivals of Venus, and other ſuch ſolemnities, when, refuſing to give audience to the officers and magiſtrates, Julian conducted through the city the female proſtitutes, and the other victims of the public incontinence. The women walked firſt; after them came the effeminate youths. Between theſe two infamous troops, who burſt into loud ſhouts of laughter, and uttered all that debauchery could dictate, marched the reformer of Paganiſm, with a burleſque gravity, heightening as much as poſſible his puny ſtature, extending a pointed beard, and affecting the ſtep of a giant. His horſe followed at a diſtance, and his guards cloſed this extravagant pomp. La Bleterie.

at

at that age I never went to the theatre privately and voluntarily, but twice or thrice only,

To pleaſe Patroclus, by the prince commanded *, my intimate friend and kinſman. I was then a ſubject.

Pardon me therefore, and rather turn your reſentment againſt that wicked governor, who was then ſo troubleſome to me by inculcating thoſe moral leſſons. He has occaſioned all your diſlike to me by fixing, and, as it were, carving on my mind what I ought to ſhun. And, as if he meant to pleaſe me, he exerted himſelf with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, calling ruſticity gravity, and ſtupidity temperance, ſaying, that to reſiſt the paſſions was fortitude, and that the gratification of them does not conſtitute happineſs. My governor often ſaid to me, when I was quite a boy, as Jove and the Muſes can witneſs, " Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be " ſeduced to the theatre by the crowd of your " companions, nor be enamoured of ſuch enter- " tainments. Do you wiſh to ſee a chariot-race? " It is elegantly deſcribed in Homer †: open the " book, and read. Do you hear of pantomime

* Πατροκλω επιπρα φερων, αρχων επειατιεν.

This, though not printed as ſuch in the editions, or obſerved by the commentators, is an heroic verſe; but it does not occur in Homer, nor is it clear whom Julian here means by " Patroclus." The prince (αρχων) muſt probably be his brother, Cæſar Gallus.

† In the xxiiid book of the Iliad, Achilles cauſes ſome games to be celebrated in honour of the funeral of Patroclus. Among them is a deſcription of a chariot-race.

La Bleterie.

" dancers? Away with them! The Phæäcian
" youths are leſs effeminate *. You have there
" the harper Phemius †, and the ſinger Demo-
" docus ‡. His trees too are more delightful to
" the ear than ours are to the eye.

" Thus ſeems the palm §, with ſtately honours
" crown'd,
" By Phœbus' altar ‖; thus o'erlooks the ground,
" The pride of Delos.

* See the dances of the Phæäcians in the VIIIth book of the Odyſſey. LA BLETERIE.

† Phemius was a muſician of the iſland of Ithaca, whom the ſuitors of Penelope forced to play on the harp during their banquets. *Ibid.*

‡ The Greeks muſt certainly have been very fond of their Homer, as a governor ſo grave as that of Julian adviſes a child to read the ſcandalous romance of Mars taken in the nets of Vulcan, which Demodocus ſings at the feaſt of Alcinous. See Odyſſ. VIII. *Ibid.*

Another grave and intelligent tutor, himſelf a proficient in muſic, (who has lately given excellent " Advice to his " pupils,") was alſo inattentive to theſe *furta Deorum*, as Virgil modeſtly ſtyles them, when he ſaid, " The wiſe men " of Heathen antiquity reſerved the powers of muſic for " the inſtilling moral inſtruction into youth." *Jones's Phyſiological Diſquiſitions*, p. 354.

§ Odyſſ. VI. 162. Broome, 193. Nauſicaa is compared to this palm-tree by Ulyſſes.

Becauſe the Ulyſſes of Homer ſaid, that he " ſaw a tall and tender palm-tree at Delos," the ſame is ſtill ſhewn at this day. *Cicero de Legibus*, I, 1.

The palm alſo of Delos is viſible from the time of that God [Apollo.] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l.* XVI. 44.

‖ In the original it is παρα βωμω. Caſaubon, in his notes on Athenæus, XVI. 9. quotes it περι βωμω. But Julian, in the paſſage above, reads it, or quotes it by memory, παρα βωμον. CLARKE.

" And

" And the woody iſland of Calypſo, and the " groves of Circe, and the garden of Alcinöus, " be aſſured you will ſee nothing more enchant- " ing."

Would you know the name of this governor, and his family? By all the Gods and Goddeſſes, he was a Barbarian, a Scythian, and name-ſake to him *, who perſuaded Xerxes to wage war againſt Greece and the renowned Argives. He was an eunuch, a title, which twenty months ago † was revered, but is now the ſubject of ſhame and reproach. He was educated by my grandfather ‡, that

* It is well known that it was Mardonius, the ſon of Gobryas, who, in the council of Xerxes, gave his opinion for making war with the Greeks, and whoſe advice prevailed. Herod. VII. The governor of Julian had the ſame name. LA BLETERIE.

† He principally means Euſebius, the chamberlain of Conſtantius, [ſee the Epiſtle to the Athenians, p. 68.] who, in his reign, had the management of public affairs. Ammianus, (xxi. 15.) relates, that " Conſtantius died Oct. 5. " in the conſulſhip of Taurus and Florentius," which was A. D. 361. He alſo ſays, in the next book, that " Julian " compoſed his Miſopogon towards the end of the year 362, " and that he marched from Antioch againſt the Perſians, " March 1, 363." So that from the death of Conſtantius to the time of his writing the Miſopogon there was an interval of not quite fifteen months. But Julian reckons twenty. Whether it is a miſtake, or not, I cannot tell. PETAU.

Julian probably fixes the epocha of the diſgrace of the eunuchs to the time of his declaring war againſt Conſtantius. LA BLETERIE.

‡ The præfect Julian (probably Anicius Julianus, who was conſul in 322) the moſt illuſtrious private perſon of his age

that he might inſtruct my mother * in the poems of Homer and Heſiod. I was her firſt and only ſon †, and a few months after my birth ſhe died, leaving me an orphan, and oppreſſed with many misfortunes. Young and tender, at ſeven years of age I was entruſted to his care. From that time, conducting me to proper maſters, he perſuaded me that this was the only right way; and as he himſelf would not know, nor would ſuffer me to purſue, any other, he has expoſed me to your reſentment.

But, if you pleaſe, we will now make peace, and terminate our animoſity. For he had no idea of my coming hither, far from expecting that I

by his birth, his riches, and his reputation; and perhaps the firſt Roman ſenator who made a public profeſſion of Chriſtianity. He had been engaged in the party of Maxentius; but Conſtantine, after the victory, revered the ſuperior talents of this great man, and a virtue ſtill ſuperior to them. He made him conſul, præfect, and at length his brother-in-law. LA BLETERIE.

* Baſilina. It is ſaid, that, when ſhe was ready to lie-in, ſhe dreamed that ſhe brought Achilles into the world; and that, upon her waking, while ſhe related this dream, ſhe was delivered of Julian, almoſt without pain. This princeſs died in the flower of her age. She appears to have been an Arian and a perſecutreſs, which is not ſurpriſing, if ſhe was related to Euſebius of Nicomedia. "It is certain that Julian was a diſtant relation of this biſhop," ſays Ammianus: probably by the ſide of Baſilina, whoſe mother, the maternal grandmother of Julian, might be of Ionia or Bithynia. *Ibid.*

† Gallus (as above-mentioned) was by another mother.

ſhould

ſhould govern ſuch an empire * as the Gods have beſtowed, much againſt the will, believe me, both of the giver and receiver. For he who conferred † this honour, or favour, or whatever elſe you may pleaſe to call it, conferred it with reluctance, and by him who accepted it, the Gods well know, it was ſincerely rejected. But their will is and muſt be obeyed. If my governor could have foreſeen this, he would, without doubt, have endeavoured to make me acceptable to you. But now, whatever manners I may have previouſly contracted, whether gentle or booriſh, it is impoſſible for me to alter or unlearn. Habit is ſaid to be a ſecond nature; to oppoſe it is irkſome; but to counteract the ſtudy of more than thirty years is extremely difficult, eſpecially when it has been imbibed with ſo much attention.

Ant. Allowing this, what induced you to inveſtigate and determine matters of traffick? This, I imagine, was not taught you by your governor, as he did not foreſee your reigning.

Jul. This alſo was owing to that wicked old man, whom, as the principal director of my ſtudies, you ſo juſtly reproach as well as me; but know, that he was deceived by others. You have often

* Conſtantius, by the courſe of nature, might have had children, and Gallus was the elder brother of Julian, who was intended for the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. La Bleterie.

† It is pretended that Conſtantius, on his death-bed, named Julian his ſucceſſor. Julian believes, or affects to believe, it. *Ibid.*

heard,

heard, I ſuppoſe, the names of Plato, Socrates, Ariſtotle, and Theophraſtus *, mentioned with deriſion. On theſe that old man had the folly to rely, and afterwards finding me young and capable of improvement, he told me, that, if in every thing I would make them my models, I ſhould excell, he would not ſay all other men (for with them there was no competition), but myſelf. Thus guided by him, how could I act otherwiſe? Were it ever ſo deſirable, I can now make no alteration, and when I reproach myſelf for not indulging every vice, I recollect what the Athenian ſtranger ſays in Plato †: "He is to be honoured who commits "no crime; he who prevents others from being "criminal is worthy of more than double honour: "the former is equal in dignity to a man; the "latter, who diſcovers to the magiſtrates the crimes "of others, is equal to many. But he, who, in "puniſhing, aſſociates himſelf in authority with "the magiſtrates, is a great and perfect citizen, "and ſhall be deemed victor in the liſts of virtue: "the ſame praiſe is due to temperance and pru-"dence, and to all thoſe other good qualities "which are not only uſeful to the poſſeſſors, but "are alſo imparted to others."

* A Peripatetic philoſopher, who ſucceeded Ariſtotle in his ſchool. *Cic. in Orat.* xix. His books of plants and moral characters are all that remain of his compoſition; the reſt of his works are enumerated by Diogenes Laërtius in his life. His name was changed by Ariſtotle, for his eloquence, from Tyrtamus.

† *De Legibus*, l. v.

Such were the inſtructions that I received from one who thought that he was forming a private individual, not foreſeeing the rank in which Jupiter has placed me. I ſhould be aſhamed of appearing worſe as a prince than as a ſubject. I have indeed ſo far forgotten myſelf as to acquaint you with my ruſticity. Another law of Plato, which has made me recollect myſelf, and be your enemy, ſays, that "the magiſtrates and elders ſhould practiſe modeſty and temperance, that their lives "may be leſſons to the people." Singly, therefore, or rather with a few, I obſerve theſe rules; but the event has been different from what I expected, and has juſtly involved me in diſgrace. Seven of us foreigners *, who have lately arrived among you, (but one, who has ſince joined us, is your own fellow-citizen †, dear to Mercury and to me, an excellent maſter of oratory,) have no connection with the reſt of the world; we go out but ſeldom, and that only to the temples of the Gods. To the theatres we never reſort, thinking them of all places the moſt ignoble, of all purſuits the moſt inglorious. If the Grecian

* In the number of the ſix friends, whom the Emperor had with him, muſt certainly be placed the philoſophers Maximus of Epheſus, Priſcus of Epirus, the ſophiſt Himerius of Bithynia, and the phyſician Oribaſius of Pergamus. It may be ſurmiſed that the two others were Salluſt the ſecond and Anatolius. But I do not think that Julian here ſpeaks of any officer of the empire. LA BLETERIE.

† It is needleſs to obſerve that Libanius is here meant. *Ibid.*

ſages

ſages will allow me to diſtinguiſh our ſociety by the moſt remarkable circumſtance that attends it, nothing ſeems ſo peculiarly our characteriſtic as an averſion to public entertainments *. Thus we ſolicit your hatred and reſentment, inſtead of cajoling and endeavouring to pleaſe you.

Ant. Suppoſe a man is guilty of injuſtice. What folly is it in you to interfere! You might not only have ingratiated yourſelf with him, but have ſhared the emoluments of his injuſtice. Yet you prefer his enmity. You ſhould have conſidered that one who is injured never complains of the magiſtrates, but only of the perſon who has injured him. But, when he has been puniſhed, inſtead of blaming his accuſer, he turns his reſentment againſt the magiſtrates. With your uſual wiſdom therefore you ſhould have refrained from compelling others to be juſt by force, and have allowed them all full liberty to act as they pleaſed, the manners of this city being remarkably free. Not attending to this, how can you think they will obey the dictates of prudence, or renounce that freedom which even the aſſes and the camels here enjoy? The drivers lead their camels through the porticoes, like ſo many brides, magnificently dreſſed †. As if the wide ſtreets and narrow lanes

* There being no ſenſe to be collected from the original, as it appears in the editions, both printed and MS. I have adopted that which M. de la Bleterie has ſubſtituted.

† A ſatirical ſtroke on the bad police of Antioch.

were not intended for their uſe, they freely range the porticoes, and no one interferes, leſt he ſhould be thought to abridge their liberty. Such is the freedom of this city; and yet you would have the young men here live peaceably, and think, or, at leaſt ſpeak, what it may give you pleaſure to hear. But they are accuſtomed to banquet freely every day, eſpecially on feſtivals.

Jul. The Romans formerly took vengeance on the Tarentines for affronting their ambaſſadors at a Bacchanalian debauch *. But you, much happier than the Tarentines, inſtead of a few days, revel the whole year †, and inſtead of foreign ambaſſadors, you

* In the year of Rome 473, the Romans ſent an embaſſy to the city of Tarentum to demand ſatisfaction for an act of hoſtility committed againſt their ſhips. Their ambaſſadors had an audience in the theatre, which was the uſual place of aſſembly in all the Greek cities. The Roman ambaſſadors deſiring to ſpeak in Greek were treated as Barbarians, inſulted for their foreign accent and dreſs, and at length driven out of the aſſembly. A buffoon, with beaſtly impudence, ſoiled their robes, to the diverſion of every one, and was unanimouſly applauded. "Laugh now," ſaid Poſthumus, the chief of the embaſſy; "you ſhall weep "hereafter. This habit ſhall be waſhed with ſtreams of "blood." The Romans declared war againſt the inhabitants of Tarentum. They called Pyrrhus to their aſſiſtance; but Pyrrhus being forced to abandon Italy, the Tarentines ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Romans deſpoiled them of a conſiderable part of their territory, obliged them to deliver up their arms and their ſhips, deſtroyed the walls of the city, and made it tributary. La Bleterie.

† Let Julian ſay what he will, I do not imagine that the inhabitants of Tarentum were at all inferior to thoſe of

you inſult your own princes, and, in particular, deride their beards, and the devices of their coin *. I congratulate you, moſt modeſt citizens, ſome for indulging theſe ſportive conceits, and others for applauding and admiring them. Thoſe, it is certain, are not more delighted with uttering, than theſe are with hearing, ſuch ribaldry. Such a harmonious concurrence is wonderfully pleaſing to me, and happy is this one city in being actuated only by one mind.

To check and reſtrain the petulance and licentiouſneſs of youth is by no means right or laudable. For to deprive men of the power of ſaying and doing whatever they pleaſe is an offence againſt liberty of the deepeſt die. Thoroughly convinced that you ought in all reſpects to be free, firſt, you allow your wives to be their own rulers, that they may be as licentious as poſſible; and, next, you devolve upon them the education of your children, leſt by our laying reſtraints upon you, they alſo ſhould at length be enſlaved; or, when they advance to maturity, they ſhould be taught to reſpect their elders, and then by degrees ſhould reverence their princes; and, laſtly, ſhould thus be claſſed, not among men, but ſlaves, and by becoming temperate, juſt, and honeſt, ſhould be corrupted and

of Antioch. It is ſaid of the former, that they had more feaſts and public feſtivals than there were days in a year. La Bleterie.

* The inhabitants of Antioch ridiculed the marks of idolatry that appeared on the coins of Julian. *Ibid.*

ruined.

ruined. As to the women, they ſeduce their children to their religion by the charms of pleaſure *, which is deemed the greateſt good not only by men, but brutes. In conſequence of this, you are moſt happy when you renounce all ſubjection; firſt, to the Gods, ſecondly to the laws, and, laſtly, to us, the guardians of the laws. And if the Gods thus connive at this licentious city, and take no vengeance on its crimes, for us to be indignant and enraged would be folly in the extreme.

Neither the *Chi* nor the *Kappa*, you ſay, have hurt your city. This ænigma of your wiſdom it is difficult to underſtand. But from ſome interpreters, of your city, I have learned, that theſe letters are the initials of certain names, the one of Conſtantius, the other of Chriſt †. Allow me, on this ſubject, to deliver my ſentiments with freedom. The only inſtance, in which you were injured by Conſtantius, was his not putting me to death when he made me Cæſar. Would to heaven, that you alone, of all the Romans, had many Conſtantii, or rather might experience the rapine of his favourites! As for him, he was my relation

* It is an accuſer who ſpeaks. However, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that, in the reign of a prince ſo eager, as Julian was, to make proſelytes, fathers and mothers were extremely indulgent to their children, leſt they ſhould embrace the religion of their ſovereign. It is ſaid, that, among the modern Greeks, the children of the loweſt of the people, when they are ill-treated by their parents, threaten to turn Turks, and ſometimes keep their word. LA BLETERIE.

† Χριστος and Κωνσταντιος.

and

and friend; but after he converted his friendſhip to enmity, and the Gods had terminated our diſpute by gentle means *, I became a more ſincere friend to him than, before our rupture, he could have expected. Why then ſhould you think me diſpleaſed with thoſe who praiſe him? On the contrary, I am offended with thoſe who diſparage him.

But you love Chriſt, and adore him as a tutelar deity, in the room of Jupiter, Daphnæan Apollo, and Calliope, who has detected your impoſture †. . . . Did the Emeſenians ‡ ſhew their love of Chriſt by burning the ſepulchres of the Galileans? But have I ever offended the Emeſenians? On the contrary, whom have I not offended of you? Moſt, if not all, of you, the ſenate, the rich, the populace? Or, rather, all the people, being attached to impiety, are diſpleaſed with me

* There was no blood ſhed in the war. Conſtantius died of a fever, (ſee p. 104, note.) while he was marching againſt Julian. LA BLETERIE.

† Though neither the printed editions, nor the MSS. take notice here of any chaſm, the paſſage ſeems to me defective. I ſuſpect that there were ſome blaſphemies here, which the tranſcribers have retrenched. *Ibid.*

‡ The inhabitants of Antioch placed to the account of the other people of Syria, and in particular of the city of Emeſa, the ſongs and ſatires which they compoſed againſt the Emperor. But Julian was not duped by them: the other cities of Syria teſtified a zeal for Paganiſm, which would not admit a ſuſpicion that they wiſhed to diſhonour the reſtorer of their religion. The inhabitants of Emeſa had ſet fire to the churches built over the tombs of the martyrs, and had ſpared only the principal, which they converted into a temple of Bacchus. *Ibid.*

for

for adhering to the laws and ceremonies of my anceſtors; the rich, becauſe I prevent their exacting unreaſonable prices; and all on account of the dancers and players, not becauſe I aboliſh them, but becauſe I regard them no more than the frogs of the lakes *. After having excited ſo much hatred, may I not be allowed to accuſe myſelf?

The Roman Cato (what kind of beard he wore I know not †, but of this I am certain) excelled all who were moſt renowned for temperance, magnanimity, and, which is the greateſt of all, bravery. When, therefore, he viſited this populous, luxurious, and wealthy city, ſeeing in the ſuburbs the young men under arms, and the magiſtrates in their robes, he thought all this parade was exhibited by your anceſtors in compliment to him; and alighting immediately from his horſe ‡, he haſtened forward, and blamed his friends, who had entered the city before him, for appriſing the

* A proverbial hyperbole, meaning that the buſineſs is nothing to us §. And it is juſtly alſo applied to detractors, when we mean to ſay we hold their calumnies in contempt. As though frogs croak continually, and bark at the paſſers-by, repeating inceſſantly that odious ditty, Βρεκεκεκεξ κοαξ κοαξ, yet no one is offended. ERASMUS.

† Julian muſt ſurely have known that, in the time of Cato of Utica, the Romans wore no beards. It may be ſaid that he is ſorry that Cato had not one as long as his own. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Plutarch ſays, that "Cato was on foot, as was his "uſual cuſtom, and his friends, who accompanied him, on "horſeback. On this occaſion, he made them diſmount."

§ Rather that we totally diſregard it; as many do not regard what greatly concerns them; and, on the contrary, pay great attention to matters with which they have no concern. STEPHENS.

citizens of his approach, and perſuading them to go and meet him. While Cato thus heſitated, and ſeemed abaſhed, the maſter of the ceremonies coming up to him, ſaid, "Stranger, how far off "is Demetrius?" He was a freed-man of Pompey, and was poſſeſſed of much wealth. You will aſk me how much *, as I know nothing more likely to excite your curioſity. For this I muſt refer you to my author, Damophilus † of Bithynia, who collected many ſuch ſtories from various writers, which are very entertaining both to young and old who have a taſte for ſuch ſubjects. For old age ſeems to renew the curioſity of youth in the moſt incurious; to which, I imagine, it is owing, that both old and young are equally fond of ſtories. But to return. Would you know what anſwer Cato gave? Suſpect not that I traduce the city. The ſtory is not mine. If the name of a certain native of Chæronea ‡ has reached your ears, of that vile ſect, as it is called, of inſolent philoſophers, into which I have not indeed yet been admitted, though ſuch is my folly, I have

* Biſhop Warburton, in a note on ver. 390, of Pope's Epiſtle to Arbuthnot, "What fortune, pray," [had your parents] where "his friend's perſonating the town, and "aſſuming its impertinent curioſity, gives great ſpirit to "the ridicule of the queſtion," quotes this paſſage of Julian as "a parallel ſtroke."

† Damophilus lived, it is ſaid, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Julian gives us no high idea of this compiler, and ridicules him by the way. LA BLETERIE.

‡ Every one knows that Plutarch was of Chæronea in Bœotia. He relates this ſtory in the Life of Pompey. *Ibid.* He relates it alſo in the Life of Cato.

wiſhed

wiſhed it; he, I ſay, relates that Cato made no anſwer, but only exclaimed, like a madman, "O "miſerable city!" and departed.

Wonder not therefore at my behaving to you in the ſame manner, eſpecially as I am more ſavage, and as much bolder and prouder, than Cato as the Gauls are than the Romans. He lived almoſt all his life in his native country. But I was ſcarce arrived at manhood when I was ſent among the Gauls and Germans, and into the Hercynian foreſt *; and having ſpent much time there, fighting with ſavages, like a hunter chaſing wild beaſts, I contracted ſuch a diſpoſition as cannot fawn nor flatter, but can live on terms of ſimplicity and equality with all men. As in the days of my early youth I travelled through the works of Plato and Ariſtotle †, I had no talents for this civil life, and no taſte for pleaſure. When I became a man, and my own maſter, I lived among the moſt fierce and warlike nations, who had no connection with Venus, the Goddeſs of love, but in the way of marriage, and for the ſake of an off-ſpring; nor with Bacchus, the God of wine, but for the ſake of drinking as much as they could. In their theatres, they have no obſcenity, no inſolence, no laſcivious dances. It is ſaid, that not long ago a certain Cappadocian fled thither from hence. You know whom I mean; the ſame who

* See a Fragment on this foreſt at the end of the epiſtles.

† Η τε εν μειρακιοις οδος δια των Πλαϑωνος και Αριϛοϑελους λογων. Literally, "my way lay through the diſcourſes," &c.

was educated in your city by a goldſmith. He had imbibed, I know not where, ſome diſſolute principles, which, I know not how, he had reduced to practice *. Being introduced to one of their kings †, remembering what he had ſeen here, he firſt entertained them with a number of dancers, and afterwards with many other curioſities of this city. At length, being in want of a cotyliſt ‡, (with

* In the original, μαθων οπε και εμαθεν, ως υ δεον ομιλειν γυναιξι, μειρακιοις δ' επιχειρειν, ακ' οιδα οποσα ενθαδε δρασας και παθων. I have ſubſtituted, with the French tranſlator, more decent general expreſſions.

† Παρα τον εκεισε βασιλεα, *ad regem qui illic.* Muſt we underſtand, by this, a Barbarian king, for inſtance, the chief of ſome tribe of Franks, who, in the time of Magnentius, ſettled themſelves in a diſtrict of Gaul? Magnentius, who derived his origin from the Franks, might have called ſome of them to his aſſiſtance. Beſides, Conſtantius had ſent word to the people beyond the Rhine, that they might enter into the Gauls, and that he would cede to them all the conqueſts that they might make there. The Barbarians ſeconded his views too well. Julian had much difficulty to make them repaſs the Rhine. Perhaps too it may be ſuppoſed (but this ſenſe ſeems to me leſs natural) that it relates to one of the Emperors, or Cæſars, who reſided in the Gauls before Julian. The name of βασιλευς was given to the Emperors and Cæſars. It is ſometimes given to them even by Julian, notwithſtanding his republican ideas.

La Bleterie.

‡ The word *cotyliſtes* occurs in no other paſſage of Julian. We are totally ignorant of what he means. However, as κοτυλος and κοτυλη ſignify a kind of cup, κοτυλιστης, their derivative, may ſignify perhaps "a player with cups, or "a jugler." Seneca calls theſe goblets *præſtigiatorum acetabula.* It is remarkable that κοτυλη and *acetabulum* have another meaning, which is common to them. They both ſignify the cavity of the *os iſchion*, in which the head of the thigh is inſerted. As *acetabulum* means "a cup to "play tricks," there is great probability that κοτυλη is uſed

2 in

(with this you are well acquainted both in word and deed) he ſent for one alſo from hence, ſuch was his attachment to your reſpectable way of life. Though the Gauls were ſtrangers to a cotyliſt, for this was the firſt time that any one had been ſeen at court, yet, when the dancers exerted their ſkill in the theatre, they deſerted it, thinking thoſe performers fools or mad.

To me a theatre ſeems no leſs ridiculous. But there, the few were derided by the many; here, I with the few am derided by you all. This, however, does not offend me; for it would be unjuſt in me, after concurring with them, not to bear with patience this treatment from you. I was ſo beloved by the Gauls, for the ſimilitude of my manners, that they not only took up arms for me, but alſo made me many preſents; on my refuſing them, they frequently obliged me to accept them, and in every thing readily obeyed me. From thence, which was of the utmoſt importance, my name was often tranſmitted to you with glory; and all exclaimed, that I was brave, prudent, juſt, equally expert in peace as in war, mild, and courteous.

Of this the manner in which you have treated me has been quite ther everſe. Firſt you ſay, "I "have ſubverted the world *." In anſwer; I know of

in the ſame ſenſe. I am indebted for this erudition to the learned M. Falconet. LA BLETERIE.

* According to Socrates, (*l.* III. *c.* 17.) the ſaying, that "Julian had ſubverted the world," was owing to a bull and an altar appearing on his coins. Petau, M. Fleury,

of nothing that I have ſubverted, either by deſign or inadvertence. Next, that "my beard ſhould "be twiſted into ropes." And, laſtly, that "I

and M. de Tillemont ſuppoſe, that Socrates ſays, the bull lay on his back. But the hiſtorian ſays no ſuch thing We know of no medal of this prince on which is ſeen a bull thrown down, or even a bull with an altar. We are acquainted with ſome on which appears a bull ſtanding, above which are two ſtars. At the feet of that animal is an eagle, who holds a crown in his beak, and ſeems to preſent it to the bull; but there is no altar. Suppoſing that Socrates is not miſtaken, he alludes to ſome medal that is unknown to us. A victim, ready for ſacrifice, ſtamped on the coins of the Emperor, ſhewed that the empire had changed its religion; and that is what the inhabitants of Antioch might very well call the "ſubverſion of the world." After all, Julian, by his reſtleſs and reforming genius, by the various changes which he introduced, both in the ſtate and religion, ſufficiently deſerved the above reproach, without its being neceſſary to think that this reproach was relative to any one of his coins. LA BLETERIE.

One medal of Julian with a bull and an eagle, and another with a bull and two ſtars, are deſcribed by Occo. Among the Imperial braſs coins belonging to the library of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, are three, which are ſuppoſed to be Julian's. One of them, which ſeems to have his head, has this inſcription, DN CONSTANTI . . . . "from which" (ſays the expoſitor) "one would think this coin a Con-"ſtantine; but the head does not reſemble either of the "Conſtantines, and I do not find that Julian took the "name of Conſtantinus, or any name like it. His titles "were Flavius Claudius Julianus. The reverſe is a war-"rior on foot, directing his javelin againſt a horſeman, "with his horſe falling to the ground. FEL. TEMP. . . . "Dufreſne deſcribes this reverſe on a coin of Julian, as "does alſo Occo, and I find no ſuch of either of the Con-"ſtantines. I ſhould think Conſtanti . . . might poſſibly be "filled up Conſtantinopolis, but DN, *Dominus noſter*, ſhews "it to be the emperor's name, and not the city's."

Conſtanti . . . on this coin may perhaps mean Conſtantius, as a coin of his, deſcribed by Occo, has the reverſe here mentioned.

"wage

" wage war againſt the *Chi* *, and that you regret " the *Kappa* †." I wiſh that the guardian-gods of this city would give you two ſuch *Kappas*, and thus revenge your ſlanderouſly imputing the libels againſt me to many of the neighbouring holy cities, which agree with me in worſhipping the Gods; cities, which, I am certain, have more affection for me than for their own children, as they immediately reſtored the temples of the Gods, and, at a ſignal lately given by me, deſtroyed all the tombs of the atheiſts ‡, being ſo ardent and zealous to

* Chriſt. † Conſtantius.

‡ The cruelties, which were exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians by thoſe " holy cities," may be ſeen in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. At Heliopolis, a city ſituated at the foot of Libanus, men were ſeen to gnaw the entrails of the ſacred virgins, to tear out the liver of a deacon named Cyril, and to eat it publickly. The inhabitants of Gaza in Paleſtine tore ſome of the Chriſtians to pieces, and committed the ſame barbarities on the remains of their bodies which in other places were practiſed on the relics of the martyrs. The like enormities happened at Arethuſa, &c. I know that Julian did not command thoſe barbarities; but he could not be ignorant of what the populace are capable. When we looſen the reins, we are reſponſible for their fury. Julian ſhould at leaſt have puniſhed theſe exceſſes, inſtead of apologiſing for them. LA BLETERIE.

This imperfect and reluctant confeſſion may appear to confirm the eccleſiaſtical narratives, that in the cities of Gaza, Aſcalon, Cæſarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abuſed, without prudence or remorſe, the moment of their proſperity; that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were releaſed from torture only by death; that, as their mangled bodies were dragged through the ſtreets, they were pierced (ſuch was the univerſal rage) by the ſpits of cooks, and the diſtaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Chriſtian prieſts and virgins, after they had been taſted

to punish those who had transgressed against the Gods, as even to exceed my wishes.

As to you, many of you, whom my lenity has scarce been able to pacify, have overthrown the altars lately erected. But after we had sent the dead body * back from Daphne †, some of you, who worshipped

by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city. Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature. GIBBON.

* Of Babylas, a Christian bishop of Antioch, mentioned in a former note, p. 247.

† At the distance of five miles from Antioch the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world. A magnificent temple rose in honour of the God of light, and his colossal figure almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE; for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. . . The temple and the village, insensibly formed by the perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators, were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. . . . The groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding Emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendor of the temple. GIBBON.

The whole of the garden at Rousham [in Oxfordshire] laid out by Kent, for General Dormer, is as elegant and antique,

worſhipped the Gods, by way of expiation, gave up the temple of the Daphnæan God to others who were enraged on account of the relics of the dead. And theſe, by their negligence or connivance, kindled thoſe flames, and exhibited to foreign nations a ſight moſt horrid, but to your citizens moſt pleaſing, and by the ſenate hitherto diſregarded. The God indeed ſeems, in my opinion, to have deſerted the temple long before the fire *. This, at my firſt entrance, the ſtatue declared to me; and I appeal to the great Sun, as a witneſs of it againſt unbelievers.

I muſt now remind you of another of my offences, and then, as I have done before, I will cenſure and condemn myſelf. In the tenth month †, accord-

antique, as if the Emperor Julian had ſelected the moſt pleaſing ſolitude about Daphne to enjoy a philoſophic retirement. WALPOLE.

* Eccleſiaſtical critics, particularly thoſe who love relics, exult in this confeſſion of Julian, and that of Libanius, (*Nænia*, p. 185.) that Apollo was diſturbed by the vicinity of one dead man. Yet Ammianus (XXII. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practiſed in the iſle of Delos. GIBBON.

† F. Petau thinks, that we ſhould read "the eleventh "month," and not "the tenth;" ſuppoſing that the month Hyperbereteus was the firſt of the Macedonian year. But Suidas and Zenobius, from a Macedonian proverb, inform us, that this month was the laſt; and conſequently the month Dius was the firſt. The following is the order in which the phyſician Ætius, and all the ephemeriſts, place the Macedonian months. I will annex the Roman months to which they anſwer in the Syrian year, which the eccleſiaſtical writers have

according to your reckoning, (you call it, I think, Löus), is the ancient feſtival of this God, when great crowds uſed to aſſemble at Daphne. I therefore haſtened thither from the temple of Jupiter Caſſius *, expecting to ſee a profuſion of wealth and

have adopted; but, as I have ſaid before, it was not perhaps that of Antioch:

1 *Dius*,	November.	7 *Artemiſius*,	May.
2 *Appellæus*,	December.	8 *Dæſius*,	June.
3 *Audinæus*,	January.	9 *Panemus*,	July.
4 *Peritius*,	February.	10 *Löus*,	Auguſt.
5 *Dyſtrus*,	March.	11 *Gorpiæus*,	September.
6 *Xanthicus*,	April.	12 *Hyperberetæus*,	October.

La Bleterie.

* Jupiter was called Caſius, or Caſſius, from a very high hill of that name in Syria, which bounds Antioch to the ſouth, about fifteen miles diſtant. This was a day's journey; but Julian performed it ſeveral times during his reſidence in that city. Nothing was difficult to him when it was to viſit a place revered by the Pagans. One day, while he was ſacrificing there, he ſaw at his feet a man proſtrate on the ground, who humbly intreated him to geant him his life. He aſked who he was. "Theodotus," he was anſwered, "formerly chief of the council of "Hierapolis, who, when he conducted Conſtantius back, "then preparing to attack you, complimented him be- "fore-hand on his victory, and with ſighs and tears "conjured him to ſend immediately to Hierapolis the "head of that rebellious, that ungrateful wretch; thus "he ſtyled you." 'I have heard this long ago,' ſaid the Emperor, 'and I have heard it from more than one.' Then addreſſing himſelf to Theodotus, who was half-dead with fear, he added, 'Return home in ſafety, and diſmiſs all 'apprehenſions. You live under a prince, who, accord- 'ing to the maxim of a great philoſopher, ſtudiouſly en- 'deavours to diminiſh the number of his enemies, and to 'increaſe that of his friends.' *Ibid.*

Trajan,

and ſplendor. Already I feigned to myſelf, and ſaw there, as in a dream, the ſolemn pomp, the victims, the libations, the dances, the incenſe, and the boys, with minds properly diſpoſed to the God, arrayed in white and elegant garments. But when I entered the temple, I found there neither incenſe, nor cake, nor victim. This much ſurpriſed me, and I concluded that you were waiting without the gate, by way of reſpect, for a ſignal from me as ſovereign Pontiff *. I therefore aſked the prieſt what offering the city intended to make on that ſolemn anniverſary? He replied, "I have brought "the God a ſacred gooſe from my own houſe, "but the city has provided nothing." Odious as I am apt to render myſelf, I expoſtulated, on this occaſion, with the ſenate in ſevere terms, which it may not be unſeaſonable here to repeat: "Shameful," ſaid I, "it is, that ſo great a city "ſhould contemn the Gods more than any village in "the remoteſt parts of Pontus, and though poſſeſ- "ſed of a territory ſo extenſive, on the late annual "feſtival of your tutelar Deity, the firſt ſince the

Trajan, in his progreſs againſt the Parthians, made an offering to Jupiter Caſius; on which account his temple is repreſented on ſeveral of his coins, and thoſe of other emperors afterwards. He is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the God Terminus among the Romans. BOWYER.

Others derive this name of Jupiter from a hill in Paleſtine near Ægypt, where that God had a temple, and Pompey a tomb. See Luc. VII. 451. and Plin. v. 12.

* Julian diſcovers his own character with that *naiveté*, that unconſcious ſimplicity, which always conſtitutes true humour. GIBBON.

" Gods diſpelled the cloud of impiety, ſhould not
" have brought him even a ſingle bird, when
" every tribe ought to have ſacrificed an ox! Or,
" if that had been too expenſive, the whole city
" might have joined to have offered him a bull.
" None of you ſcruple being profuſe of expence
" on your private entertainments, and many of
" you, I know, laviſh large ſums on the feſtival of
" the Maïuma *; but none, either as individuals or a
" community,

* I know not whether we muſt believe, on the authority of Suidas and of ſome comments, that the Maïuma was originally a Roman feſtival. Suidas ſays, that in the month of May, the magiſtrates of Rome, followed, no doubt, by all the people, went to celebrate it at Oſtia, and that, amidſt diverſions and licentiouſneſs, they puſhed one another into the ſea. But we find in no other author that this feſtivity was ever celebrated in Italy, or in any other part of the Weſt. It even ſeems to have been peculiar to the Orientals, and particularly to the Syrians. As places where there was much water were choſen for its celebration, ſuch as the ſuburb of Daphne near Antioch, and we know not that it was celebrated in the month of May, it is more probable to ſuppoſe that it was called *Maïuma*, becauſe that word in Syriac ſignifies " waters." All that is known of this feſtival is, that it laſted ſeven days, and that it " was the eſſence of it not to abſtain " from any kind of infamy." This is the expreſſion of Libanius, who, a thorough Pagan as he is, often mentions it with horror. Godefroy thinks that the infamous ſpectacle againſt which St. John Chryſoſtom inveighs with ſo much zeal muſt refer to the Maïuma. In the middle of an amphitheatre, in a reſervoir filled with water, the common women ſwam and gambolled in the ſight of the whole city. If Godefroy be not miſtaken, as we alſo know that the city of Maïuma in Paleſtine, ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, was particularly devoted to the worſhip of Venus, I ſhould ſuſpect that the feſtival of the Maïuma had originally for its object

" community, sacrifice for their private or the
" public safety. The priest alone has sacrificed,
" who, in my opinion, ought rather to have car-
" ried home some part of your offerings. For
" the Gods require the priests to honour them
" only by their probity, and attention to virtue,
" and their decent ministration of the sacred duties;
" but the city, I think, should sacrifice both in
" public and private. Instead of this, all of you
" suffer your wives to squander your substance on
" the Galileans, who, by feeding the indigent at

object the celebration of the birth of that Goddess, who, according to the fable, sprung from the waves. But it appears that, in the time of Julian, the Maïuma was no longer considered as part of the religious worship of the Pagans. However, it is no less strange to see the Christians of Antioch partake of this scandalous festivity. But, as M. de Tillemont says, " a great nation is often more zealous " to defend the name of Christianity than to practise its " morality." " A wise prince," says Libanius, (he is supposed to mean Constantius) " had suppressed the festival " of the Maïuma." But it was tolerated in the reigns of Julian and Valens, and till the last years of Theodosius I. who forbade it some time before his death. Arcadius, in 396, allowed it to be celebrated on condition that nothing should be done there contrary to decency. *Clementiæ nostræ placuit, ut* Maïumæ, *provincialibus lætitia redderetur; ita tamen ut servetur honestas, et verecundia castis moribus perseveret.* But as it was impossible to exact this, the same emperor forbade it three years after. *Ludicras artes concedimus agitari, ne ex nimiâ harum restrictione tristitia generetur. Illud verò quod sibi nomen procax licentia vindicavit,* Maïumam fœdum atque indecorum spectaculum, *denegamus.* XV. *Cod. Theod. tit.* VI. *de Maiumâ.* Some remains of this festival were found nevertheless at Constantinople in the IXth century, in the reign of Leon the son of Constantine Copronymus. LA BLETERIE.

" your

" your expence, exhibit a wonderful proof of " impiety to their poor, who ſeem to abound " every where. But you, though you contemn " the worſhip of the Gods, think yourſelves blame- " leſs. No one ſupplies the altar with neceſſaries, " not being able, I ſuppoſe, to defray the expence. " Yet when any one of you celebrates his birth- " day, he provides a ſuitable entertainment, and " magnificently treats his friends. While on a " ſolemn feſtival no one brings the God a libation, " nor a victim, nor even oil for his lamp, nor " incenſe. In what manner this may appear to " any good man among you, I know not; but " that it cannot pleaſe the God, I am certain."

Such, I remember, were my expoſtulations, and theſe the God, by his teſtimony, approved; which I wiſh he had not, but, inſtead of deſerting the ſuburb in which he had ſo long reſided, had in the late tempeſt turned the hearts, and opened the hands, of the magiſtrates *. But I was ſo abſurd as

* In the original, των κρατουντων. Who theſe κρατουντες are is not ſufficiently clear to me; unleſs he means the guardian genii of the place [Daphne] whoſe attention and power were baffled by a divine interpoſition, which, in order to avenge the people of Antioch, occaſioned that conflagration. PETAU.

The following is the manner in which the whole paſſage ought, I think, to be tranſlated, by repeating a negation that occurs a little before. " In that horrible event, " Apollo would not have diverted the attention of the tutelar " genii of the place; he would have ſtopped the hands of " the

as to be angry with you, when I ought rather to have been ſilent, like many who entered the temple with me, and to have made no inquiſitive enquiries nor reproaches. But ſuch was my precipitation, and ſo ridiculous my flattery, (for it cannot be ſuppoſed that the ſpeech which I addreſſed to you was dictated by friendſhip, but by a vain-glorious affectation of reverence to the Gods, and of a ſincere regard for you, which of

" the incendiaries." For my part, I am convinced that κρατουντες ſignifies here " the people in power, the magiſtrates," and if I thought, that, by " the ſtorm," we ſhould underſtand " the burning of the temple of Apollo," I would tranſlate it " he would not have diverted the attention of " the magiſtrates." But I think it more natural to underſtand by this " ſtorm," or " agitation," εν εκεινῃ τῃ ζαλῃ, the commotions and diſorders that happened at Antioch on account of the ſcarcity which Julian mentions in the ſequel. The avarice of the magiſtrates, and the moſt powerful perſons of the city, was the cauſe of that ſcarcity. Thus Julian would ſay, that Apollo, if he had ſtill been in his temple, would have prevented or ſtopped the diſorders, by touching the hearts of thoſe rich miſers, by forcing them to open their hands to diſtribute the corn which they locked up in their granaries. This is the explanation which I have adopted. I will not venture, however, to affirm that it is the true one. LA BLETERIE.

I adopt the ſame explanation, though I chooſe to tranſlate the words literally. M. de la Bleterie renders them, " In the commotions by which it has lately been agitated, " he would have forced the magiſtrates to open their " granaries, he would have inſpired them with ſentiments " more humane." Τρεψας αλλακου την διανοιαν ſeems very analogous to our ſcripture expreſſion, ος αποκαταστησει καρδιαν, κ. τ. λ. *he ſhall turn the heart*, &c. Mal. v. 6.

all

all flatteries is the moſt ridiculous,) that I raſhly inveighed againſt you.

Juſtly therefore you now repay me for thoſe invectives, though not in the ſame place. For I reproached you before the God, at the altar, at the feet of the ſtatue, and in the preſence of few; but you are thus ſarcaſtic on me in the public markets, before all the people, and by the mouths of ſome of your worthy fellow-citizens. For, be aſſured, all who ſpeak have a communication with their hearers; but he who eagerly liſtens to calumnies enjoys equal pleaſure, with more ſafety, and is no leſs culpable than he who utters them.

Thus the whole city hears your lampoons on this unfortunate beard, and on its wearer, who has never ſhewn, nor will ever ſhew you, what you call a good example. For he will not lead ſuch a life as you lead yourſelves, and as you expect your princes ſhould lead. As to the aſperſions which you have both privately and publickly thrown upon me in ſcurrilous anapæſtic verſes, I alſo condemn myſelf, and very readily allow you ſtill farther liberty. I will never expoſe you, on that account, to the danger of death, ſtripes, bonds, impriſonment, or to any other puniſhment. What purpoſe would that anſwer? But as the temperate life which I here lead with my friends ſeems to you deſpicable and loathſome, and exhibits a ſight by no means agreeable, I have determined to remove

move and quit your city *, not from a perſuaſion that my perſon and manners will be more acceptable where I am going, but becauſe I think it expedient, ſhould I fail of being thought good and virtuous, to give others ſome ſhare of my diſagreeableneſs, and no longer to diſguſt this happy city with the ſtench, as it were, of my moderation, and of the temperance of my friends. For none of us have purchaſed ſo much as a field or a garden here, or have married, or given in marriage, or have been enchanted with any of your amuſements; nor have we coveted the Aſſyrian wealth, nor been laviſh of our patronages †; nor have we ſuffered any of the magiſtrates to ſhare with us the dominion over you; nor have we allured the people by the ruinous feſtivity of banquets or plays. On the contrary, we have made them ſo voluptuous, that, free from any apprehenſions of indigence, they have compoſed anapæſts on thoſe to whom they are indebted for ſo much affluence. No gold have we exacted, no ſilver have we demanded, nor have we

* Julian had reſolved to return after the Perſian campaign, and to paſs the winter at Tarſus in Cilicia.

LA BLETERIE.

This not being permitted, he ordered his corpſe to be interred there, in the ſuburbs.

† Οὐδ' ἐνεμάμεθα τας προστασίας. In the Latin, *Neque præfecturas depaſti ſumus.* Rather, *Neque patrocinia diſtribuimus.* For he means the guardianſhip and protection of certain orders, and bodies, or the negociation of buſineſs with the Emperor, the ſoliciting which was very lucrative to the great.

PETAU.

increaſed the taxes; but, beſides the arrears now due, we have remitted to all a fifth of what they uſed to pay.

Not contented with being regular myſelf, I have alſo, (by Jupiter and all the Gods, I am firmly perſuaded) a moſt temperate uſher *; who has been much cenſured, however, by you, becauſe though old, and rather bald on the fore part of his head, yet ſuch is his perverſeneſs, that he is not aſhamed to wear his hair on the back part, like the Abantes † of Homer. Two or three more, in no reſpect his inferiors, I may ſay four, I have alſo at my houſe; and if you deſire even a fifth, ſuch was my maternal uncle and nameſake ‡, who governed

* I know not whom Julian here means. LA BLETERIE.

Εισαγγελευς. One who introduces perſons to a king or prince. ROBERTSON.

This anſwers to the Engliſh word and place of gentleman-uſher, or maſter of the ceremonies.

† Among the Greeks who went to the ſiege of Troy, Homer reckons the Abantes, to whom he gives the epithet of οπιθεν κομοωντες, *retrò comati*, becauſe they threw their hair back. LA BLETERIE.

Down their broad ſhoulders flows a length of hair. POPE.

‡ Julian, Count of the Eaſt, brother to Baſilina. After the profanation and deſtruction of Daphne, (ſee p. 248.) being ordered by the Emperor to ſhut up the cathedral of Antioch, then poſſeſſed by the Arians, his zeal induced him to exceed his commiſſion by ſhutting up all the other churches, and even by beheading a preſbyter, named Theodoret. For this raſh act being reprimanded by his nephew, he was ſeized, a few days after, with an inveterate ulcer, of which he languiſhed two months, and then died. "His "ſeaſonable death," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "is related with "much

verned you with the ſtricteſt juſtice, as long as the Gods allowed him to continue and co-operate with us, though he did not manage the affairs of the city with the utmoſt prudence. For thoſe governors who rule with mildneſs and moderation ſeem to me highly laudable, and this, I hoped, would have atoned for my want of beauty. But ſince the length of my beard, the negligence of my hair, my diſlike to the theatres, my gravity in the temples, and, above all, my adherence to equity in the courts of juſtice, and my earneſt endeavours to baniſh extortion have given you ſuch offence, I ſhall with pleaſure leave your city. If I were to attempt to alter my conduct, I ſhould probably exemplify the old fable of the kite. For the kite, it is ſaid, having originally a voice like other birds, was deſirous to neigh like a high-bred horſe; but not being able to attain the one, and loſing the other, he was afterwards deprived of both, and in voice became inferior to them all. In like manner, I am very apprehenſive of being neither ruſtic nor polite. For, as you yourſelves perceive, I am now, by the will of the Gods, on the verge of that age, when, according to the Teian poet,

Grey hairs will mingle with the black *.

But

" much ſuperſtitious complacency by the Abbè de la Ble-
" terie." To the above-mentioned indiſcretion of his uncle the Emperor probably here alludes. See Epiſtle XIII. which is addreſſed to this Count Julian.

* Εὖτε μοι λευκαι μελαιναις αναμεμιξονται τριχες.

The poems of Anacreon, now preſerved, are ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by Henry Stephens; but where or how

But tell me now, I conjure you, by the immortal Gods, and by Jupiter, the guardian of your city, what has occaſioned this ingratitude? Has any private or public offence of mine ſo provoked you, that, not being able openly to revenge it, you lampoon me in the forum, in anapæſtic verſes, as the comic poets treat and repreſent Hercules and Bacchus *? Is it becauſe, though I have abſtained from injuring you by my deeds, I have offended you by words, that you take your revenge in the ſame manner? Can this have occaſioned your enmity and reſentment? But certain I am, that nothing injurious, nothing offenſive, has been done, nor any thing reproachful ſaid, by me, either

is ſcarce known. His firſt edition of them, which was publiſhed at Paris in 1544, was deemed a happy diſcovery by ſome of the learned, and ſuſpected by others. Stephens, falling into a kind of diſtraction in the latter part of his life, ſuffered his two MSS. which he had carefully collated, to periſh, without communicating them even to Caſaubon, his ſon-in-law. This we learn from M. de la Monnoie in Bayle's article Anacreon. And M. de Pauw, who publiſhed an edition of that poet at Utrecht in 1732, in 4to, is fully perſuaded that the odes were compoſed by different authors; and, beſides, doubts whether Anacreon was really the author of any ſingle ode in the whole collection. Julian has quoted from him one paſſage (as above), and refers to another in his XVIIIth Epiſtle. But neither of them are to be found in Stephens's edition.

* We need only open Ariſtophanes, and caſt an eye, in particular, on his comedies of The Frogs and The Birds, to be convinced of the licentiouſneſs with which the Greek poets treated the Gods. The moſt abuſed, and thoſe whom they repreſented in the moſt ridiculous characters, were Bacchus and Hercules. LA BLETERIE.

privately

privately againſt individuals, or publicly againſt the community. I have even beſtowed commendations, whenever I thought them due; and I have, in ſome reſpects, been ſerviceable to you, as became one who was deſirous of being, to the utmoſt of his power, a general benefactor. It was impoſſible, you may be aſſured, that all the taxes ſhould be remitted to thoſe who pay them, and that by thoſe who uſed to receive them all ſhould be returned. As therefore it appears that I have not diminiſhed the public largeſſes, which uſed to be defrayed at the Imperial expence, though I have remitted you ſeveral taxes, does not this ſeem myſterious? But it is more proper for me to be ſilent as to what I have done for all the citizens in general, that I may not ſeem ſtudiouſly to publiſh my own panegyric, after declaring that I would compoſe a bitter ſatire on myſelf. The inſtances of my raſhneſs and imprudence towards you, though they ought not to have incurred your diſpleaſure, it is, I think, incumbent on me to mention, as they are really diſgraceful to me, and being more true, and relating wholly to my mind, are much more important than my perſonal defects, I mean the roughneſs of my viſage, and my unpoliteneſs *.

* Και της αναφροδισιας. *Veneris odium* in the Latin tranſlation, not properly. Το αναφροδιλον is oppoſed to επαφροδιλον. But this means "agreeable and elegant." That therefore is "diſagreeable and inelegant;" and αναφροδισια "ruſticity, "unpoliteneſs." PETAU.

And, firſt, I highly extolled you, before I was acquainted with you, or was appriſed on what terms we ſhould be, on this conſideration only, that you were deſcended from the Greeks, as I, though by birth a Thracian, am in manners and diſpoſition a Greek. I preſumed, therefore, that we ſhould have a mutual regard for each other. In this one inſtance I judged raſhly. Afterwards, though you were the laſt who ſent ambaſſadors to me, not excepting the Alexandrians, who are ſo remote as Ægypt, yet I remitted you much gold and ſilver, and many taxes, in particular, more than to any other city. I alſo augmented the number of your ſenators * to two hundred, and I exempted none †, my

* Zoſimus, *l.* III. "The Emperor, indulging the city, as "was juſt, and granting it a large number of ſenators who "were deſcended from parents of that rank, who were born "of the daughters of ſenators, (which, we know, was al-"lowed to few cities.)" But this was not ſo agreeable and honourable to thoſe who were enrolled as to the city itſelf. For it was rather burthenſome to be returned to the ſenate, and generally declined on account of the weight of aſſeſſments. Therefore, ſoon after, he ſays, he enrolled thoſe two hundred in the ſenate, "ſparing no one," φεισαμενος ουδενος. For the more powerful and opulent thought it, as has been obſerved, a burthen; and therefore they were to be compelled. *Ibid.*

† Every city had a ſenate, which was called in Latin *Curia*, the name of *Senatus* being uſually appropriated to the ſenates of Rome and Conſtantinople. Two annual magiſtrates, named *Duumviri*, were at the head of that aſſembly, whoſe members bore the name of *Curiales* or *Decuriones*. The decurions, among other burthenſome functions, were charged with collecting the taxes in the diſtrict of

my view being to increaſe and aggrandiſe your city, I allowed you therefore to chooſe them from among the richeſt of my treaſurers *, and the officers of the mint. You did not, however, make choice of thoſe who were beſt qualified, but, when an opportunity offered, your conduct was that of an ill-governed city, and not unlike yourſelves. Shall I remind you of one inſtance? Having nominated a certain ſenator, before he was enrolled on the liſt, and while the proceſs of his election was yet depending, you dragged him from the ſtreets into the ſenate, indigent as he was, and thus admitted into your ſociety one of the loweſt of the people, of thoſe who are every where elſe diſregarded, but whom you choſe to purchaſe at any price †. Such

is

of their city, and with making good the payments. Individuals therefore avoided thoſe places as much as they could. But it was equally the intereſt of the empire, and of the cities, to have the curiæ numerous and filled with reſponſible perſons. *Curiales ſervos eſſe reipublicæ, ac viſcera civitatum, nullus ignorat, quorum cœtum rectè appellavit antiquitas minorem Senatum*, ſays the Emperor Majorian. *Novell. Theod. l.* IV. *tit.* I. Julian therefore gave a proof of his zeal for the public good, and of his affection for the city of Antioch, by allowing it to augment the number of its ſenators, and to chooſe them from among the officers of the Emperor, who pretended that they were exempted. LA BLETERIE.

* Απο των επιτροπευσαντων τας θησαυρους. He means the Præfects and Counts of the treaſuries, of whom the Notitia treats; who were under the direction of the Counts of the ſacred largeſſes. Thus οι εργασαμενοι το νομισμα are the officers of the mint. PETAU.

† Martinius and Spanheim conſider this as two inſtances of popular licentiouſneſs; the one, that of a man, who

is your discernment. Many of your elections have been equally irregular, but, as I cannot connive at them all, the remembrance of my past favours is lost; and for the refusal of what justice would not allow me to grant, you are incensed against me. But these were of little importance, and by no means sufficient to irritate the whole city. What follows was my chief offence, and gave the greatest provocation *.

When I first came hither, the people, oppressed by the rich, began with exclaiming in the theatre, "There is plenty of all things, yet all things are "extravagantly dear." Next day I discoursed with your magistrates, and endeavoured to convince them of the propriety of spurning unjust

was enrolled into the senate, while he had a suit depending, whose issue ought to have been expected; the other, that of a poor man, taken from the dregs of the people. Their mistake seems to arise from the words μετεωρα της δικης ουσης, which they apply to a law-suit, and αλλον, which, as usually printed, begins the next sentence. But the former words may as well refer to the process of the senatorial election yet undetermined, and accordingly M. de la Bleterie translates them, *lorsque le procès, dont sa nomination fut suivie, étoit encore pendant*. And for αλλον ("Another "man") I would substitute αλλα or αλλ' ("but"), and close the former paragraph with a comma only, or semicolon. That Julian meant to produce no more than a single instance appears from his introductory words, Βουλεσθε τινος υμας υπομνησω; "Will you allow me to remind you of *one* of them?"

* Julian proceeds to make his apology on account of the kind of famine which Antioch suffered, while he resided there. Let him say what he will, the conduct, which he then pursued, does less honour to his prudence than to his disinterestedness and good intentions. LA BLETERIE.

gain,

gain, and of obliging their fellow-citizens and foreigners. They promiſed to attend to what I ſaid; but after waiting with confidence for three months, ſuch was their negligence that I deſpaired of any good effect. Finding therefore that the popular clamour was juſt and reaſonable, and that the markets were ſtraitened not by dearth, but by the avarice of the rich, I fixed a moderate price on every commodity, of which I ordered public notice to be given. And as there was great plenty of wine, oil, and all other proviſions, except wheat, whoſe ſcarcity was owing to the drought of the preceding year, I determined to ſupply that deficiency from Chalcis, Hierapolis, and other neighbouring cities. From them I imported for your uſe four hundred thouſand meaſures; and when they were conſumed, I brought from my own houſe, and gave to the city, firſt, five thouſand, then ſeven thouſand, and now, laſtly, ten thouſand *modii*, as you ſtyle them, all which wheat was ſent me from Ægypt, for my own conſumption, and fifteen meaſures I ordered to be ſold at the ſame price that uſed formerly to be given for ten *. If ten meaſures

* With a ſalutary view, the Emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful ſtep, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. . . . The conſequences might have been foreſeen, and were ſoon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchaſed by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, with-held from the city the accuſtomed ſupply; and the ſmall quantities that appeared in the market were ſecretly ſold at an advanced and illegal price.

measures cost you an *aureus* * in summer, what could be expected, when, as the Bœotian poet says,

—— cruel famine rages in the house † ?

Would you not have accepted five measures ‡, or less, in such a severe winter as followed? Why then did your rich merchants clandestinely sell their standing corn for more, and thus take advantage of the public distress? Notwithstanding this, besides the citizens §, numbers also from the country

price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence [as above], or the elaborate apology of Libanius, *Orat. Parent. c.* XCVII. *p.* 321. GIBBON.

* From Mr. Greaves's elements, in his excellent discourse on the *denarius*, we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at somewhat more than eleven shillings. *Ibid.*

† Καλεσον γιγνεσθαι τον λιμον επι δωμαλι.

"If I have searched well," (as M. de la Bleterie says of another passage), these words are not to be found in any of the works of Pindar that have been transmitted to us.

‡ Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity. From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that, under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. GIBBON.

§ Και εχ η πολις μοιον. Something, I think, is wanting here. For the sentence seems abrupt, and rather incomplete. Understand it thus. Julian made the price of corn only, and the making of bread, cheap; that is, he sold fifteen *modii* of corn for one *solidus*. But the Antiochians, besides

country came hither in crowds to purchaſe bread, the only commodity that is plentiful and cheap. But which of you remembers, even in the moſt favourable ſeaſons, fifteen meaſures of corn ſold ſo cheap as for one *aureus?* I was therefore hated by you becauſe I would not ſuffer wine, vegetables, and fruit to be ſold at an exorbitant price, nor corn, which the rich had hoarded in their granaries, to be immediately converted by them into gold and ſilver. They infamouſly ſold it to foreigners, and, in conſequence, expoſed you to famine,

—— that cruel ſcourge of mortals, *

as it is ſtyled by a God, who ſeverely reprobates ſuch tranſgreſſors. Thus, by my attention, the

beſides corn, wiſhed to have plenty alſo of wine, vegetables, and fruit. Compare this with another paſſage (p. 258.) where he mentions their complaints againſt him for occaſioning a plenty of bread only, and not alſo of wine, fiſh, and poultry. But here, he ſays, he was reproached for not ſuffering garden-ſtuff and fruit αποδιδοσθαι χρυσῳ, "to "be ſold for gold." Where χρυσος, that is "gold," not χρυσους, "a piece of gold ſo called," I ſuppoſe to be meant. For when the common people had hitherto purchaſed from the rich, at an extravagant price, not only corn but wine, and other articles leſs neceſſary to ſubſiſtence than corn, Julian, by ſupplying the people with plenty of corn alone, in this particular alleviated their wants. But when by his edict he had lowered the prices of meat, wine, and other things, they were no longer publickly ſold by the rich; which not being regarded by the Emperor occaſioned the popular complaints. PETAU.

* Αιμον αλιτυπεα βροτειων. This is the concluſion of an heroic verſe, though not ſo diſtinguiſhed in the editions. I ſuppoſe it to be taken from one of the Didymæan oracles (ſo called) from which Julian has given another quotation in his Duties of a Prieſt, p. 130, and in his LXIId Epiſtle.

city

city abounded in bread, but in nothing elſe. Such conduct, I was well aware, would not be generally pleaſing; but this gave me no concern, as I thought it my duty to relieve an oppreſſed people, and alſo the foreigners who accompanied me hither, and the officers who attended me. But ſince they are now departed, and the whole city has combined againſt me, being hated by ſome, and from others, whom I have ſupported, having no return but ingratitude, relying on divine Nemeſis, I will remove to another nation, another city, without reminding you of your acts of juſtice on yourſelves nine years ago *, when the populace, with furious clamours, ſet fire to the houſes of the magiſtrates, and maſſacred the governor; and, in return, were puniſhed by a reſentment juſt in the motive, but rigorous in the execution †.

* In 354, when Gallus ſet out for Hierapolis, the people of Antioch begged him to order an importation of corn. Gallus contented himſelf with replying, that "he left them "Theophilus, governor of Syria, who very well knew "how to procure it for them." The people, remembering theſe words, made Theophilus reſponſible for the dearth. On account of a quarrel that happened at the games of the Circus, they attacked and murdered the governor, and diverted themſelves with dragging his body through the ſtreets. Eubulus, one of the principal perſons of the city, and his ſon, narrowly eſcaped the ſame treatment. But the people ſet fire to their houſe. Conſtantius ſent Strategius to puniſh the rioters. Julian hints that it was at the deſire of the magiſtrates. LA BLETERIE.

† Libanius, however, in his oration on this ſedition, much applauds the clemency of Conſtantius.

In

In short, what part of my conduct has given you so much offence? Is it my supporting you, from my own house, at an expence which no other city has seen equalled? Is it my augmenting the number of your senators? Is it my pardoning the frauds which I have detected? Lest this should be deemed a rhetorical fiction, let me specify one or two. Three thousand lots of land, you said, were vacant *, and desired the grant of them; but when they were granted, the rich alone divided them. This, on enquiry, being clearly proved, I took them from those unjust possessors, and making no scrutiny into the former exemption of those who had no right to it, applied them to the principal expences of the city. Thus those of you who annually breed horses have about three thousand exempt portions, owing partly to the prudence and good management of my uncle and namesake †, and partly to my generosity, who, for thus punishing thieves and cheats, am justly thought by you to have subverted the world ‡.

* He here charges the Antiochians with another instance of ingratitude. For when three thousand κλῆροι, or lots, of land, were vacant, having fallen in by the deaths of the heirs, Julian, at their request, gave them to the citizens. But as the few rich divided them among themselves, he soon after resumed them, and restored them to the public towards the expence of their games and entertainments, especially those of the Circus; which, he says, was the act of his uncle Julian. PETAU.

† Count Julian, of whom above, p. 290.

‡ See p. 277.

For, believe me, lenity to ſuch offenders encourages and hardens the wicked *.

This is the whole of my meaning, and with this I ſhall cloſe my diſcourſe. My misfortunes originate from myſelf alone. They are owing to the ingratitude of thoſe whom I have obliged, and are therefore the effect, not of your liberty, but of my folly. This will teach me to act with more diſcretion for the future, and for the kindneſs which you have publicly ſhewn me, may you be properly requited by the Gods †!

* Julian, it is obſervable, is ſilent as to his ſending the whole body of the ſenators of Antioch, conſiſting of two hundred of the moſt noble and wealthy citizens, under a guard, from the palace to the priſon, for their diſreſpectful and intereſted boldneſs. But he ſuffered them to return to their reſpective houſes before the cloſe of the evening. "Their ſhort and eaſy confinement," ſays Mr. Gibbon, "is gently touched by Libanius, (*Orat. Parent.* c. XCVIII. "pp. 332, 333.")

† Though Julian affected to laugh, he could not forgive. His contempt was expreſſed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor [Alexander, of Heliopolis] worthy only of ſuch ſubjects; and the Emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his reſolution to paſs the enſuing winter at Tarſus in Cilicia. Libanius, in a profeſſed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city at Antioch. GIBBON.

Soon after writing this ſatire, viz. March 5, 363, Julian began his march towards Perſia, of which he has given the particulars, as far as Hierapolis, in his XXVIIth Epiſtle (the lateſt extant), to Libanius, "one citizen of Antioch," as the above cited hiſtorian expreſſes it, "whoſe genius and "virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the "vice and folly of his country."

XVI Epiſtles

XVI Epiſtles of LIBANIUS* to JULIAN.

EPISTLE I. †

MAY the preſent health and ſtrength, that, you ſay, you poſſeſs, be your conſtant portion! For your grief may God ſupply a remedy! Or rather your grief requires in part only the aſſiſtance A. D. 358.

* The ſophiſt Libanius was born in the capital of the Eaſt [Antioch]. He publickly profeſſed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Conſtantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a raſh but ſolemn aſſurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adverſary: the curioſity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed; he ſecretly procured the writings of this dangerous ſophiſt, and gradually ſurpaſſed, in the perfect imitation of his ſtyle, the moſt laborious of his domeſtic pupils. When Julian aſcended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian ſophiſt, who had preſerved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taſte, of manners, and of religion. The Emperor's prepoſſeſſion was increaſed and juſtified by the diſcreet pride of his favourite. Inſtead of preſſing, with the foremoſt of the crowd, into the palace of Conſtantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court, on the firſt ſymptoms of coldneſs and indifference; required a formal invitation for each viſit; and taught his ſovereign an important leſſon, that he might command the obedience of a ſubject, but that he muſt deſerve the attachment of a friend. . . The voluminous

assistance of God, for some part of it you yourself can alleviate. You are able, if you please, to re-build the city ‡; but for your concern on account

minous writings of Libanius still exist; among them, near two thousand of his letters * . . . His birth is assigned to the year 314. [In a letter to Priscus] he mentions the 76th year of his age (A. D. 390.) and seems to allude to some events of still later date. GIBBON.

Libanius was a great admirer of Julian, fond of Gentilism, and averse to Christianity, but not an enemy to all Christians. He did not embrace Christianity, having been educated in great prejudices against it, and having never examined its evidence. Nevertheless, I cannot but esteem him an useful man. For, as Socrates acknowledges, he was an excellent sophist; he was continually employed in teaching polite literature; and had many scholars; some of whom were afterwards men of great eminence. Among them, Socrates and Sozomen reckon John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsouestia, and Maximus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria. LARDNER.

By comparing their works, we find in reality that Julian resembles Libanius, but it is with a handsome likeness, and in the same manner as a person of quality, who speaks well without affecting to do so, may be said to resemble a rhetorician who makes it his study. "Hence, I imagine," says Libanius, "his subsequent writings have some affinity "to our style, as if he had been one of our scholars." Julian submitted to his criticism both his actions and writings. He was thought to have assisted him in the composition of the Misopogon. "Libanius," said he, "loves "me more than ever my mother did; he is not attached "to my fortune, but to my person." LA BLETERIE.

† This Epistle is one of the three first published by Fabricius, with a Latin translation, in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 397. In the edition of Wolfius, it is the XXXIIId.

‡ Nicomedia, the capital of Bythinia, which, from the beauty of its situation, the magnificence of its buildings,

* In his Life, his letters, he says, were innumerable.

its

account of the dead, may Heaven afford you consolation! Nicomedia, ruined as she is, I deem most happy. Her safety indeed would have been most desirable; but even thus she is honoured * by your tears. Nor are these inferior to the lamentations which the Muses are said to have uttered for Achilles †, or to the drops of blood which Jupiter, in honour of his dearest son, poured down at the approaching death of Sarpedon ‡. That she therefore, who was lately a city, may again be a city, will be your concern. Elpidius §, always

its grandeur, and its riches, had been looked upon as the fifth city in the world, was destroyed by an earthquake, Aug. 24, 358, followed by a fire which lasted five days. A monody, by Libanius, on this subject, I have inserted in vol. II. Julian was then only Cæsar; but he visited the city, and gave orders for re-building it, in his way from Constantinople to Antioch, May 15, 362, after his accession to the empire. Another earthquake, which was also felt at Constantinople and Nice, swallowed up the remains of Nicomedia, on January 1, 363.

* Τέλμηλαι δε ομως I have added, to complete the sense, from the [French] king's largest MS. where these words are written in the margin, but in a more modern hand. That of the Vatican also has on the side τέλμηλαι δε ομως πεσθσα. For the city might be honoured indeed, but could not be restored from its ruins, by the tears of Julian. Valois quotes this passage of Libanius, in his notes on Ammianus, xxii. 9. p 319. Wolfius.

† Alluding to Homer, Odyss. xxiv. 60.

Round thee the Muses, with alternate strain,
In ever consecrating verse, complain. Pope, 77.

‡ Iliad. xvi. 459.

Then, touch'd with grief, the weeping heavens distill'd
A shower of blood o'er all the fatal field. Pope, 559.

§ A philosopher, to whom Julian has addressed his lviith Epistle. Libanius also has addressed several Epistles to him, and has mentioned him in several others.

a man of diſtinguiſhed probity, has now made wonderful improvements. Thus it is not only true, as Sophocles ſays, that

Wiſe kings are form'd by converſe with the wiſe *, but the wiſdom of a king improves alſo his friends in virtue. So ſerviceable have you been to Elpidius, making him not only richer but better. Though younger than he, you have been his inſtructor in theſe laudable purſuits, in equity, in an eager deſire to aſſiſt his friends, to treat courteouſly thoſe whom he knows not, and by ſo treating them, always to retain their friendſhip. For all, who have approached and converſed with him, have firſt admired and then inſtantly loved him, or rather have diſcovered your ideas in all that you have entruſted to him. I often diſcourſe with him; and all our diſcourſes turn on you, on the underſtanding that you poſſeſs, and the important affairs in which you are engaged. The manner in which you will complete them, and how you will ward ſome impending dangers, we have ſagely diſcuſſed. I ſeemed, as it were, converſing with yourſelf. With particular pleaſure I received the intelligence of your having defeated the Barbarians †, and that you had related your victories in a commentary ‡, thus acting

* Σοφοι τυραννοι των σοφων συνεσια.

I have ſearched Sophocles in vain for this verſe. WOLFIUS.

† Probably his victories over the Salian Franks and Chamarians. See the Epiſtle to the Athenians, p 87.

‡ We ſhould add him to the number of celebrated hiſtorians, if his Memoirs of [illegible] had been tranſmitted to us. LA BLETERIE.

at

at once as an orator and a general *. Achilles required a Homer, and Alexander many such †, but your trophies, your own voice, which has erected them, will transmit to posterity. Thus you surpass the sophists, by proposing to them not only actions for them to celebrate, but the orations, which you have composed on your actions, for their emulation.

To these your trophies I wish you to add that of restoring Pompeianus ‡ to his rights; and think not this an unworthy contention. For this is the man, whom formerly, in Bithynia, when he was ambassador from hence, you saw with pleasure, and, on being informed of what he had been defrauded, gave him hopes of recovering his property. Of this promise, O prince §, I intreat you to be mindful.

* See the Epistle to the Athenians, p. 88, note *.

† Τιτάνων [the common reading] has no meaning. Spanheim has συγγραφέων, perhaps for συγγραφέων, "writers." M. V. la Croze preferred Σειρήνων, ("Sirens.") To me it is not yet clear. Suppose we should read τοιούτων, ("such,") which I have expressed in my translation? Salvinius has "Titenibus." WOLFIUS.

‡ Pompeianus, who had been præfect of Bithynia, is mentioned with elogiums by Libanius in many other Epistles, and some are also addressed to him.

§ Ω Βασιλεῦ. Though Julian was then only Cæsar, as appears from some passages above, both Fabricius and Wolfius have translated this *Imperator*. But Βασιλεύς was often applied to the Cæsars.

EPISTLE II. *.

A. D. 362. ARE you then forgetful of us? But Phœnicia does not ſuffer us to be forgetful of you, as ſhe celebrates your reign in immortal hymns †. From your ‡ Aſia alſo flows the fame of your actions, increaſing our expectations. For nothing that we have heard, great as all theſe actions are, is ſo great as to exceed the hopes that we have formed. We, on account of our relation to the Ionians §, rejoice, truſting that you will proceed in the right road, and that your authority both over them and us will be more firmly eſtabliſhed. But this muſt be left to the providence of God.

Andragathius, in requeſting to be the bearer of this, has rather conferred than aſked a favour of me.

* This is another of the Epiſtles preſerved by Fabricius. In the edition of Wolfius it is the ccxxivth.

† Godefroi, in one of the indexes to his edition of the Theodoſian Code, quotes this paſſage; but ſuppoſes this letter (then unpubliſhed) to be addreſſed to Count Julian, Conſular of Phœnicia.

‡ Ὑμετέρας. In the Barocc. MS. Ἡμετέρας. Our reading is ſupported by four others; and juſtly, as Libanius appeals to the accounts ſent him, of the actions performed by Julian, from foreign and diſtant parts. Addreſſing Julian, he ſtyles Ionia (which is ſoon after eloquently named) "*Your* Aſia," meaning a diſtrict of Aſia Minor, in which, having left Phœnicia, he then was. WOLFIUS.

§ For this relationſhip, of which Libanius, an orator of Antioch, here boaſts, the ſcholiaſt thus accounts: "The "Ionians near Smyrna formerly ſent a colony to Antioch, "and therefore he ſtyles them relations." *Ibid.*

For

For he will not be more gratified by the pleaſure of ſeeing you than I am by thus being enabled to accoſt you. This youth will have theſe three recommendations to you; an energy of ſpeech, which he has diſplayed before the præfects; a courteſy of behaviour, which endears him to all with whom he converſes; and ſuch an intimacy with me, as, in that reſpect, to exceed all the friends that I have had ſince my childhood.

EPISTLE III. *

YOU have gained a double victory †, one by your arms, the other by your eloquence. One trophy is erected to you by the Barbarians, and the other by me your friend; a trophy this moſt pleaſing even to a conqueror. For all parents wiſh to be excelled by their children ‡, and you, A. D. 358.

* The Barocc. MS. to the name Ιουλιανῳ adds, Καισαρι, ("Cæſar,") but the Medic. B. τῳ Καλαχρᾳλῳ ("the execrable.") Ezech. Spanheim quotes the beginning of this epiſtle in his preface to the works of Julian, p. 4. WOLFIUS.

In the edition of Wolfius, this is the CCCLXXIId.

† Thus our author, in his CCCXCIVth epiſtle, a: "The "excellent Anatolius has gained two victories over us." *Ibid.*

‡ A compariſon by no means foreign to this paſſage, as the ſophiſts uſed to ſtyle their ſcholars their ſons. See Eunapius, in Julian, and Damaſcius in the Life of Iſidorus in Photius on Zenodotus; "alone thought worthy of "being called the darling child of Proclus." Our author alſo in his epiſtles has frequently the ſame expreſſion. That Julian had been inſtructed in the art of ſpeaking by the precepts of Libanius, is evident from this as well as from other paſſages. *Ibid.*

who by me have been inſtructed in writing, have in that excelled your inſtructor. But now for the brevity * of my epiſtle, I, the orator, muſt account to you, the general, or rather to one no leſs conſummate in the art of oratory than in that of war †. After the Emperor ‡ had given you a ſhare in the government, I thought myſelf bound to lay ſome reſtraint on my freedom, and not to indulge it, as I had been accuſtomed, to a man ſo exalted. For knowing, as we do, in our declamatory ſkirmiſhes, how to accoſt Pericles, Cimon, and Miltiades, it would have been ſhameful in real life to neglect thoſe laws. And as you yourſelf ſay, that the letters of generals, on account of their avocations, ſhould be ſhort, this induced me to contract my

* Julian loved long epiſtles, as appears from his ſecond to Prohæreſius: "Sages, like you, may make long and "verboſe orations, but from me to you a little is ſuffi-"cient."

† This union of war with eloquence and the other arts is applauded by Libanius in other places, but eſpecially in his IIId oration to Julian, p. 183. "You alone com-"prehend the accompliſhments that are divided among "others; and no orator, nor warrior, nor judge, nor "ſophiſt, nor myſtic, nor philoſopher, nor prophet can "admire himſelf when compared with you. For in your "actions you excell thoſe who act, in your ſpeeches thoſe "who ſpeak." WOLFIUS.

‡ That Conſtantius, who, when he was oppreſſed with the difficulties of the Gallic war, though by no means a friend to Julian, rather thinking that he had cauſe to fear him, yet yielded to the exigence of the times, and aſſociated Julian in the empire. For this reaſon, in the Barocc. MS. this epiſtle has the addition of "Cæſar." *Ibid.*

epiſtles,

epiſtles, ſenſible, that he whoſe buſineſs prevents him from writing long letters, by one who ſends him long letters muſt be much interrupted. But now, as you order me to be diffuſe, I will obey.

And, firſt, I congratulate you, that, with arms in your hands, you have not ſuſpended your application to oratory, but wage war, as if war were your only ſtudy, and attend to books, as if you were a ſtranger to arms. And next, that he *, who has given you a ſhare in the empire, has had no cauſe to repent of his having given it, but conſidering him as your couſin, and collegue, and lord, and maſter, in all your actions you promote his glory, and exclaim to your falling enemies, "what "would be your fate, if the Emperor were pre-"ſent?" All this I applaud, and alſo your not having changed your manners with your dreſs, nor loſt, by gaining power, the remembrance of your friends. Many bleſſings attend you for ſhewing that, when I celebrated your talents, I was not a liar, or rather for having ſhewn that I was a liar in promiſing nothing equal to what you have performed! This is all your own, and copied from no model. For though ſome, together with the empire, have aſſumed the love of money, contracting deſires to which before they were ſtrangers, and others have given more indulgence to their former inclinations, you alone, when raiſed to the throne,

* Conſtantius. See the laſt note, p. 310.

have ſhared your fortune * among your friends, giving one a houſe, another ſlaves, land to this, money to that, and, when a ſubject, were more wealthy than now when you are prince. Nor do you exclude me from the number of your friends, though I am not one of thoſe who have ſhared your favours. For I can aſſign a reaſon of my alone having received nothing. As you would have cities abound with every thing that can promote their happineſs, you deem nothing more eſſential to this than oratory, knowing that, if that were extinct, we ſhould reſemble the Barbarians. Apprehending therefore, that, if I abounded with riches, I ſhould neglect my art, you thought it right for me to remain poor, that I might not be tempted to deſert my ſtation: Such, at leaſt, is my ſolution. Not that you have ſaid, "Amphiaraus "and Capaneus are ſomething †; but this man "has neither name nor place ‡." But your not having

* This may illuſtrate what our author, in his Life, p. 42, relates of Julian, viz. that "Libanius loved himſelf, but others loved his riches." WOLSIUS.

† This is a proverbial expreſſion, which I do not remember to have read elſewhere. In other paſſages of the ancients, Capaneus is applied to a faithful friend, becauſe Capaneus, amidſt great wealth, living with frugality and œconomy, was moſt attentive to his friends. *Ibid.*

It is needleſs to add, that Amphiaraus and Capaneus were two of the ſeven chiefs againſt Thebes.

‡ Ουτ' εν λογω ετ εν αριθμω. This oracle of Apollo, to the inhabitants of Ægina, is quoted by the ſcholiaſt on Theocritus: Υμεις δ', ω Μεγαρεις, ετ' εν λογω, κ. τ. λ. Compare the Chiliades of Eraſmus, p. 437. *Ibid.*

The

having given me any thing is owing to your regard for the public. Therefore though we are indigent of money, we abound with words. This is your concern; may we not disgrace the part that is allotted to us, nor you your illustrious rank!

EPISTLE IV. *

I SENT you a short oration on an important subject. You can add to its length, by supplying what is essential to that purpose. If you give that, you will shew that you think I have a talent for encomiums. If you do not give it, I shall be induced to entertain some other suspicions.

EPISTLE V. †

UNLESS you were well apprised how long ago my friendship with the excellent Macedonius ‡ was contracted, and for what reasons it has been since improved, of these I would

The inhabitants of Ægina, say some, of Megara, say others, after gaining a naval victory, enquired of Apollo who was the bravest of the Greeks; to which he gave a depreciating answer, concluding as above.

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DXXVth. It is also one of those preserved in Latin by Zambicari. See a note on Epistle XV. To what oration Libanius here alludes does not appear.

† This is the DLXXXVIth in the edition abovementioned.

‡ The son of Pelagius, of Cyrus, a city in Syria, an orator, and a philosopher. Libanius mentions him with great encomiums in several other epistles, and has addressed three to him, one of which is a congratulation on his marriage.

first

firſt appriſe you; but knowing, as you do, its foundation, you will not wonder that I, who would decline no danger for my friends, ſhould devote to his ſervice this letter. He has indeed prevailed with me to ask a favour of you, not that you grant favours eaſily, or grant all that are aſked; but ſuch as are juſt and right you willingly confer. And, in truth, whoever does not oblige his friends, in matters thus irreproachable, blames the daughter* of Jove for retaining the Graces in her veſtibule. But that you favour thoſe who ask nothing unreaſonable is evident to all. Now obſerve whether my requeſt is ſuch as can be cenſured.

Macedonius married a wife who had a ſon by a former husband. That ſon is now dead. I wiſh therefore that the mother †, in preference to the grandfather, may ſucceed to his eſtate, if a regard to honour can induce the grandfather to wave his right, and to prefer praiſe to a compliance with the law. Be it therefore your endeavour to con-

* The Greek mythologiſts ſtyle her Δικη, ("Juſtice;") whom he virtually condemns, that does not return to a friend the favour which he could and ought. WOLFIUS.

† The mothers, among the Romans, had not, in the beginning, any ſhare in the ſucceſſion of their children, whether they were emancipated or not. In proceſs of time, the mothers did ſucceed, but differently according to the different times, and the whimſical changes that many laws made in their right of ſucceſſion. In England, if, after the death of a father, any of his children die inteſtate, without wife or children, in the life-time of the mother, the mother, in that caſe, ſucceeds jointly and equally with the brothers and ſiſters of the deceaſed and their repreſentatives. STRAHAN.

vince

vince him, that it is more creditable for him to decline than to take these effects. You will be doubly persuasive, as, besides the powers of oratory, you possess supreme dominion. And I hear that this old man is vain of a good reputation, and had rather accumulate fame than wealth. Delay not therefore to send for and confer with him, and thus perform an action more humane than any law. Nor think that we will admit, as an excuse, your alleging that the discussion of such matters does not belong to you, or, by way of subterfuge, that you are unable to persuade him. To be the instrument of conferring wealth on the mother, and fame on her father, will do you no dishonour. Every word from you makes a strong impression on the hearers.

EPISTLE VI.*

THE laws and myself will take care that that most abandoned servant shall be punished for what he has said and done. But you, together with the empire, shew that you possess also such benevolence as the excellent Priscian † displayed to Seleucus ‡. Acting thus, you will induce the

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DXCIST.

† Priscian was an excellent orator, and on that account was invited by Julian to Constantinople. Libanius has addressed several Epistles to him.

‡ Seleucus is also mentioned as a friend of Libanius in many of his Epistles, and many are addressed to him.

preceptors

preceptors of Arrhabius, I mean Calliopius *, and his father, to treat him with more indulgence. For Seleucus married the daughter of one, and the ſiſter of the other. Him therefore, whom in your letters you ſo highly honour as to ſtyle him your ſon, aſſiſt, I intreat you, in his literary improvements.

EPISTLE VII. †

WOULD you have me believe that you do not take the leaſt concern in the affairs of Ulpian and Palladius ‡, that you neither regard them as friends, nor eſteem them as orators, nor recollect that they may aſſiſt you with their friendly offices? Such reports, which it does not become me to repeat, are circulated by many. On the contrary, I contend that none of them, as far as you are concerned, are true. Write therefore, and confute them. You will thus confer a favour on yourſelf, as well as on me.

* Calliopius, by ſome of the Epiſtles to him, appears to have been an orator.

† This in the edition of Wolfius is the DCIId, a.

‡ Two orators, frequently mentioned by Libanius.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE VIII. *

I HAVE discharged my obligations to Aristophanes †; but you, in return, have given me such splendid tokens of a vehement affection as are conspicuous both to Gods and men. So that now I seem almost to soar into the sky, elevated by your epistle, which has inspired me with such hopes, and has so decorated my oration ‡, that all things else, the wealth of Midas, the beauty of Nireus §, the swiftness of Crison ‖, the strength of Polydamas **, the sword of Peleus ††, seem little in my sight. A. D. 362.

* This Epistle is one of the three first published by Fabricius. In the edition of Wolfius it is the DCLXXth.

† This oration for Aristophanes, a Corinthian, the son of Menander, who had been severely fined by the præfect of Ægypt, on account of his consulting astrologers, is preserved in the works of Libanius, vol. II. p. 210, &c. WOLFIUS.

It is said in this oration, that he had been fined, scourged, and imprisoned.

‡ The Epistle of Julian to Libanius, to which this is an answer, is the LXVIIIth, or last, in vol. II.

§ See Homer. Iliad. ii. 671.

‖ Crison was that native of Himera, who gained three victories in the Olympic games. See the Prolegomena of Erasmus Schmidius on Pindar, p. 31. Add. Pausan. Eliac. p. 172. WOLFIUS.

** A famous Thessalian wrestler, who strangled a lion on mount Olympus, tamed a wild bull, and stopped a chariot drawn by the strongest horses. He was crushed to death by a rock under which he took shelter from a storm; and this was owing to his indiscretion in flattering himself that

ſight. Even the nectar of the Gods, were I allowed to enjoy it, could not give me greater delight than I now feel, when my prince, ſuch a one as Plato formerly ſought and could ſcarcely find *, has commended my ſentiments, admired my oration, and has not only promiſed that he will give ſomething, but, which is much greater honour, that he will conſult with me what to give. They who obſerve the riſing of the celeſtial goat †, do not always obtain their wiſhes; but I, though I have not attended to this, have been moſt ſucceſsful. And if I want any other favour, the Emperor, imitating the Deity, is ever gracious. Your epiſtle therefore ſhall be prefixed to my oration, to inform all the Greeks, that my dart has not been launched in vain, for by what I have written, Ariſtophanes will be honoured, as I am by what you have returned; or rather both of us ſhall

that he could ſupport the rock, which was beginning to fall, when his companions fled. MORERI.

Libanius mentions him alſo in his xvith Declamation.

†† Peleus received a ſword from Vulcan, with which he could defend himſelf againſt all attacks, as we learn from the ſcholiaſt on the ivth Nemean of Pindar, ver. 88, &c. WOLFIUS.

* Alluding to the famous ſaying of Plato, that "governments would be happy, if kings philoſophiſed or "philoſophers reigned." *Ibid.*

† A proverbial expreſſion, often uſed of thoſe with whom every thing ſucceeds happily, and as they wiſh; becauſe it was of old a vulgar opinion that they who ſaw that goat, who was the nurſe of Jupiter, and on that account was made a conſtellation, obtained whatever they deſired. ERASMUS.

ſhall

ſhall glory in what has been written and will be given by you, for each of us is honoured by each of theſe.

But now it may divert you to hear how Ariſtophanes has been terrified. One of your uſual evening-attendants informed us that, on coming to your door, he was refuſed admittance, becauſe he was told, you were buſy in compoſing an oration. This immediately occaſioned an apprehenſion that you had determined to controvert my oration *, and confute your preceptor, and would thus overwhelm Ariſtophanes like the Nile †. We haſtened therefore to the excellent Elpidius, who, on hearing the cauſe of our alarm, burſt into a loud laughter. Thus we recovered our ſpirits, and ſoon after I received your elegant epiſtle ‡.

* Libanius means the oration, which he, who had formerly been the preceptor of Julian, had ſpoken for Ariſtophanes. WOLFIUS.

† Alluding, I imagine, to the inundation of the Nile, and, at the ſame time, to the torrent of Julian's eloquence, which might over-power Ariſtophanes. Thus Suidas aſcribes to Chryſoſtom "cataracts like thoſe of the Nile," and Tzetzes mentions "Nile-like floods," both applied to eloquence. See p. 305. *Ibid.*

‡ This Epiſtle of Julian to Libanius is here ſubjoined in a note, by Wolfius, from Fabricius. But I have added my tranſlation of it to his other Epiſtles in Vol. II.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE IX. *

A. D. 361. HOW much ſoever I condemned that journey (fatiguing as it was) †, I no leſs, or rather more, condemned myſelf for returning ſo ſoon, inſtead of going to the place appointed, and there indulging my eyes, the next morning, at ſun-riſing, with the ſight of his divine viſage. And ſo unfortunate is the city, that ſhe cou'd not afford me the leaſt conſolation. I ſtyle her unfortunate, not on account of the dearth of proviſions, but becauſe ſhe has been and is adjudged wicked, invidious, and ungrateful ‡ by him whoſe prudence

* To the name Ιυλιανῳ, Αὐτοκράτορι (" Emperor,") is prefixed in two MSS. And in another, τῳ τρισκαλλεστάτῳ (" moſt " execrable,") is annexed to it. WOLFIUS.

In the edition of Wolfius it is the DCCXIIth. It is alſo one of thoſe preſerved in Latin by Zambicari.

† What fatiguing and fruitleſs journey Libanius had taken, does not appear. Perhaps it was to Mount Caſſius, (ſee the Miſopogon, p. 282.) where Jupiter had a temple, fifteen miles, or a day's journey, from Antioch, which, however, Julian performed ſeveral times during his reſidence in that city. For " from thence," ſays Ammianus, (XXII. 14.) " at the ſecond cock-crowing, is firſt " ſeen the riſing of the ſun."

‡ Meaning Antioch, at that time not only afflicted with famine, but expoſed to the reſentment of the Emperor for diſregarding his edict for lowering the price of proviſions, and not abſtaining from ſarcaſms on himſelf. This appears from the embaſſy (πρεσβευτικὸς) our author ſent to Julian for the

prudence ſurpaſſes his dominions, extenſive as they are. While Alcimus * was with me, I had one who would hear with indulgence my ſelf-reproaches and my boaſts of the diſtinction ſhewn me by you. But after his departure, conſidering the cieling as my only friend, I looked up to it, as I lay in my bed, and ſaid, " Now the Emperor ſent for me: " now I entered and ſat down (for that he allowed " me); now I pleaded for the city, as I was per- " mitted to intercede with him for thoſe who " had offended him. But he prevailed, ſo juſt " was his charge, and ſo powerful his elocution. " And though I oppoſed him, I was neither diſ- " liked, nor ejected." With this banquet I regale myſelf, and I intreat the Gods, firſt, that they will give you the ſuperiority over your enemies, and, ſecondly, that they will render you as propitious to us as you were formerly. I have alſo a third petition, which they have heard, but I will not here mention. I ought not, however, even to have ſaid that I will not mention it. For you are ingenious enough to conjecture this third article from my wiſhing to conceal what I wiſh. And, in-

the Antiochians, which is in the ſecond volume of his works, p. 151, and alſo from his oration to the Antiochians *de Imperatoris irâ*, which, before unpubliſhed, our learned Fabricius has inſerted in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 207. WOLFIUS.

See alſo the Miſopogon, p. 296, &c.

* A native of Nicomedia, and a man of learning, as appears from ſeveral letters addreſſed to him by Libanius.

deed, I apprehend that the contrary will be your choice *.

Now then paſs the rivers; ruſh on the archers † more impetuouſly than a torrent; and afterwards think on what you ſaid you would think. But fail not to ſolace me, in your abſence, as much as you can. I, for my part, will ſend epiſtles to extort your anſwers from the midſt of the battle, as I am convinced that you have a genius that can at once command an army, fight an enemy, and correſpond with a friend. I am ſo infirm, that I am obliged to hear what I ought to ſee. Happy is Seleucus ‡ in this glorious fight, and in preferring the honour of ſerving ſuch a prince to that which he derives from a good wife, and a moſt beloved daughter!

* I ſhould underſtand this of marriage, to which Julian was averſe. WOLFIUS.

† Meaning the Perſians, Julian being then engaged in that expedition. *Ibid.*

‡ Seleucus has been mentioned in Epiſtle VI. p. 315.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE X. *

THAT Alexander † was appointed to the government, it firſt, I confeſs, gave me ſome concern, as the principal perſons among us were diſſatisfied. I thought it diſhonourable, injurious, and unbecoming a prince; and that repeated mulcts would rather weaken than improve the city. But now the good effects of this ſeverity are ſo manifeſt, that I recant ‡. For they, who formerly bathed and ſlept at noon, now, imitating the A. D. 363.

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the DCXXIId.

† This is the Alexander of whom Ammianus ſays, (XXIII. 2.) "When Julian was going to leave Antioch, he made "one Alexander of Heliopolis governor of Syria, a tur- "bulent and ſevere man, ſaying, that 'undeſerving as he 'was, ſuch a ruler ſuited the avaricious and contu- 'melious Antiochians." Conſult Valois on that paſſage, who refers to this Epiſtle, then unpubliſhed. WOLFIUS.

See the Miſopogon, p. 302. note †.

‡ Ἀδῶ παλινῳδίαν. This proverb is taken from a tranſaction of Steſichorus, the Lyric poet, mentioned by Plato in his Phædrus. For having ſlandered Helen, in a poem, he was deprived of his eye-ſight; but Achilles, by her deſire, as Pauſanias relates, in his Laconica, having acquainted him with the cauſe of his blindneſs, he immediately ſung a recantation, by praiſing Helen, whom before he had cenſured; and thus he recovered his ſight. Socrates ſays, in joke, that "he wiſhes to imitate him, and would rather ſing a recan- "tation in favour of love, which he had blamed, than "loſe his eyes." ERASMUS.

manners of the Lacedæmonians *, labour indefatigably not only in the day-time, but no ſmall part of the night, nailed, as it were, to the gate of Alexander. And when he clamours from within, every thing is inſtantly in motion. Thus the ſword will never be wanted, ſince his threats alone are ſufficient to render the impudent modeſt, and the ſlothful induſtrious. Calliope is alſo honoured, agreeably to your wiſhes †, not only by horſe-races, but theatrical exhibitions; and ſacrifices are offered to that Goddeſs in the theatre, without our making the leaſt alteration. Loud applauſe is given, and amidſt this applauſe the Gods are invoked. With this applauſe the governor ſeems ſo delighted, that he urges many more to add to it. Of ſuch importance, O prince, to mankind is divination ‡, as it teaches every one the beſt manner of governing a family, a city, a nation, and a kingdom.

* For the Lacedæmonians were far from being delicate. Hence aroſe the proverb, Λακωνικως δειπνειν, ("to ſup Lacedæmonially,") on which ſee Eraſmus, p. 268. WOLFIUS.

† This muſt probably be ironical, as Julian was far from being a favourer, or frequenter, of the circus, or the theatre. See the Miſopogon, pp. 232, 261, and 268.

‡ Libanius here flatters Julian, as if he had learned by divination that Alexander was ſuch a one as ought to govern Syria and the Antiochians. WOLFIUS.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XI. *.

ON all accounts I was pleaſed to ſee Ablavius †, but principally becauſe he brought me a letter from you. For ſooner than blame you I ſhould deteſt myſelf; ſuch has been your attention to the promotion of my intereſt, amidſt this tedious war, which you could not have been, if any one had ſpoken to my diſadvantage. In ſeeming to laugh, and in pardoning thoſe who, in order to flatter one, calumniate another, you acted like yourſelf. Flattery is their trade, and as neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence as rowing is to that of ſailors. That ſage, with whoſe morals Ablavius acquainted me, though he would not diſcloſe his name, gave me no concern on any account, this only excepted, that in mentioning me he was guilty of a ſoleciſm; and I, though guilty of no offence, was ſent by him among the Barbarians ‡. Inform him of this, and caution him to avoid ſuch miſtakes for the future; he may then, if he pleaſes, ſpeak evil of me, for then, at leaſt, he will not ſpeak ill §. But this

* This, in the edition of Wolfius, is the MXXXVth.

† Libanius has two Epiſtles to Ablavius, by which it appears that he was an orator.

‡ Libanius ridicules the man, by whoſe ſpeaking barbarouſly of him, he himſelf was, as it were, made a Barbarian. WOLFIUS.

§ This play on the words λεγειν κακως, and εχει κακως, I have endeavoured to retain in Engliſh, by the equivocal meaning of "evil" and "ill," as applied to ſlander and to language.

man

man is unalterable *. If, however, by his calumnies he ſhould ſtill offend you, and you wiſh to puniſh him, you eaſily may, by confining him to his houſe, in an after oon, and obliging him to ſup at home; and when he again grows inſolent, through repletion, and drinks your own wine againſt you †, you need only repeat that puniſhment; you cannot inflict a greater. This will effectually curb his licentious tongue; but, whatever be his name, let me know it, that, when I write his elogium, it may not be anonymous.

EPISTLE XII. ‡

A. D. 358. ALAS! alas! how inſatiable is your deſire of farther attainments! You poſſeſs the palm of eloquence, ſnatched from others, at once

A matchleſs prince and a moſt potent ſage §.

Other

* Σταδιος, in Greek, uſually ſignifies "firm, immoveable." I underſtand, therefore, this paſſage of a man who cannot be changed, but always remains the ſame. WOLFIUS.

† Πινει τον σον οινον καλα σε. It ſhould ſeem by this paſſage, that it was cuſtomary to drink health, or confuſion, in thoſe times as it is in ours.

‡ In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCXXVth.

§ Αρχων τ' αγαθος, κραιπερος τε σοφιστης.
In alluſion to Homer. Iliad III. 178.
Αμφοτερων βασιλευς τ' αγαθος, κραιπερος τ' αιχμητης.
Great in the war, and great in arts of ſway. POPE, 236. That Libanius here did not flatter Julian, in praiſing him for his eloquence, his orations and epiſtles ſtill extant atteſt. To which may be added what Spanheim ſays in his preface to the works of Julian, *c.* 2. "Among the "Emperors his predeceſſors, or thoſe who followed him

Other princes have acted, and we applauded; but you excell in both those capacities. For how can we speak so highly in commendation of your actions as you do of that short letter *? Hence I conjecture what you will do, when you have subdued Phœnicia †, as already you administer justice to your subjects, wage war with the Barbarians, and in the composition of orations far exceed the common rank. Though I am not solicitous as to the future, I shall be as much pleased with this slaughter as with a victory. For when the vanquished and the victor are friends, the vanquished has a share in the triumph; as friends, it is said, have all things common ‡.

" in the same exalted station, I cannot see any, who as to the " extent, or copiousness, of their learning, or the bright- " ness of their genius, or the power of their eloquence, " can in those arts, and in the talent of writing, contest " with him the superiority." Libanius bestows a similar elogium on Julian in his own Life, p. 41. styling him " the " most temperate, the most oratorical, and the most war- " like." WOLFIUS.

* Julian also highly commended other orations of Libanius. See on this subject the remarkable Epistle of Julian, before unpublished, mentioned in p. 317. now the [LXVIIIth.] *Ibid.*

† I should understand this of the orators of Phœnicia. *Ibid.*

‡ Κοινα γαρ, φασι, τα των φιλων. This proverb is quoted by Euripides in his Orestes, in the same words. See the Chiliades of Erasmus [p. 13.] and Gregory Nazianz. Ep. LXIV. *Ibid.*

" No proverb," says Erasmus, " is more salutary, or " more celebrated, than this."

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIII. *

GEMELLUS † is my relation and my friend, and by his manners is no disgrace to his family. If he had been possessed of money and a large estate, he would long ago have been employed on some public function. But as his fortune is small, he has, by my advice, taken a method which may exempt him from tears and chains, the usual attendants of those whom public employments have reduced to poverty.

Happy he is in discharging this office under your inspection; as you never fail to reprobate injustice, and to honour what is just and equitable. Many there are who look upon justice and equity as meanness, and accordingly despise them. But far different is your conduct; for you were well born, and well instructed, and therefore glory more in being virtuous than in the numerous nations which you govern. Of this Gemellus has proofs; and, that he may have more, let him be obliged for those to you, but for these to me. For if he should receive any greater favours in consequence of my letter, he will certainly be indebted for them to my advice.

* In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCCCXCIVth.

† To this Gemellus Libanius has several epistles.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE XIV. *

WE have made a mutual agreement, that I ſhould write to you in behalf of my friends, and that if their requeſts are reaſonable, you will aſſiſt them. Of your aſſiſtance let this Hyperechius † firſt reap the advantage. He has long been harraſſed and oppreſſed by thoſe whoſe chief ſtudy is unjuſt gain. He was one of my ſcholars in my former proſperity. Such I deem the time of my reſidence at Nicomedia ‡; not on account of the wealth, but of the excellent friends, that it procured me, many of whom are no more. This man, whoſe hopes now reſt on you, then came from Ancyra §. In eloquence, none excelled him; in manners, none equalled him. I love him therefore with a parental affection. I cannot ſee him injured without aſſiſting him myſelf, and urging others to aſſiſt him alſo. And if in this you think that I act no bad part, ſhew by your deeds that you approve my conduct.

* In the edition of Wolfius this is the MCCCCXCth.

† An orator, the ſon of Maximus, a native of Galatia. Libanius has addreſſed ſeveral epiſtles to him.

‡ Our author affirms, in his Life, p. 21, that he ſpent five years with pleaſure at Nicomedia, and calls that time "the ſpring of his life." WOLFIUS.

§ The ſame city which Libanius, in his XXVIth oration, p. 599, ſtyles "the principal and largeſt city in Galatia." *Ibid.*

EPISTLE XV. *

A. D. 363. THE oration †, which contains ſome account of your glorious actions, you honour not only with praiſe, but admiration. And as you are ranked among the learned, you maintain, I am told, that Demoſthenes could not have written more forcibly, Socrates more agreeably, or Plato more copiouſly, on the occaſion. You affirm alſo, that greater glory will redound to you from my writings, than from the fortunate event of your actions. My opinion is far different. For though, with my moſt ſtudious and elaborate endeavours, I ſtrove to exalt your name; yet, as my ſtrength was unequal to ſuch a weight, what I performed I performed with great pleaſure. But ſo brilliant are your praiſes, that the rudeſt genius may ſeem

* This is the IIIrd of the IId book of the Epiſtles of Libanius, collected in Greece by Franciſco Zambicari of Bologna, and publiſhed, in his Latin tranſlation only by John Somerfeld, at Cracow, 1504. It is alſo inſerted by Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. VII. p. 390.

† His Προσφωνητικος, or panegyrical addreſs to Julian, when he was at Antioch, juſt before he ſet out on his Perſian expedition. It is the Vth in the IId Vol. of the works of this Sophiſt, publiſhed by Morell. How agreeable it was to the Emperor Libanius mentions in an Epiſtle to Celſus [the DCXLVIIIth], as well as in the above.

FABRICIUS.

ſuffi-

ſufficiently decorated by the dignity of the ſubject. Your actions therefore were the nobleſt ornaments of my oration. And though I attempted to illuſtrate thoſe actions which in their own nature were moſt ſplendid, I rather illuſtrated myſelf. So that you have no cauſe to return me thanks, or to think that they are due to me. But that I may acquire ſuch a ſplendor by recording your exploits, whatever ſucceſs may attend you in future fail not to communicate to me by a letter.

EPISTLE XVI.*

I CAN ſcarce believe that, than which nothing can be more certain. Departing from you, in obedience to your order, and on an urgent occaſion, I am both willingly and unwillingly abſent from you. For I think I could be ſooner negligent of my life than of your commands. Any labours, however great, ſeem trifles; however ſmall, when deſired to undertake them for you, I have been uſed to think them ſweeter than ambroſia. To this it is owing, that, were you to command me, I would depart not only from you, but from myſelf. But as I conſider you as my deity, without you nothing ſeems pleaſing. You conſtantly occur to my mind: whatever I hear repeats the voice of

* This alſo is publiſhed only in Latin by Zambicari. It is the XIVth of his IId book.

Julian; whatever I ſee reflects the image of my venerable deity. And when a ſweet ſlumber refreſhes my languid limbs, you ſeem ſo preſent to me, that, by the kindneſs of the immortal Gods, ſeparated and looſed from the body, my mind ſeems to fly to you, to embrace, accoſt, in ſhort, to worſhip you; ſo that if I were to be deprived of life, I would wiſh that to be my laſt day. Farther, that I may no longer be thus tormented, I intreat you to give me your permiſſion to return to you, and in your preſence to adore your deity, which abſent I at once admire and venerate. If not, as by your indulgence it may be effected, I could eaſily conſent to be baniſhed, not only from the city I ſo much love, but alſo from the world *.

* In the Latin, *non modo interdici mihi optatiſſimâ urbe, ſed ipſâ etiam urbe facilè patiar*—which I do not underſtand. Perhaps *ipſâ urbe* ſhould be *ipſo orbe*. I have ventured ſo to tranſlate it.

*** Theſe are all the Epiſtles of Libanius to the Emperor that are extant. Of the others addreſſed to Julian (of which there are ten more), one is to his uncle the Count of the Eaſt, and the reſt to ſome other perſon, or perſons, of the ſame name.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

The Tranſlator's diſtance from the preſs, he is ſorry to find, has occaſioned the following ERRATA.

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v. l. 3. r. '*Julien*'
xxvii. l. 11. r. 'reſponſible'
xxxi. note † l. 1. for 'LXXI' r. 'LXXX.'
xxxvii. l. 3. fr. the bottom, r. 360.'
2. l. 2. r. 'anceſtors'
7. note † l. *pen.* after 'apprehenſion', put a comma
10. note † l. 1. r. 'aſteriſks'
13. note § l. 1. r. ανηνυλω
§ 2. r. δη
17. note ‖ l. 1. r. ανθρωπον
χελευων
20. note * r. επιτροφα
38. note ‡ l. 4. r. 'Critias here ſays'
49. note §. After 'Θεοφιλη' put a full ſtop
93. note † l. *penult.* r. 'opening of'

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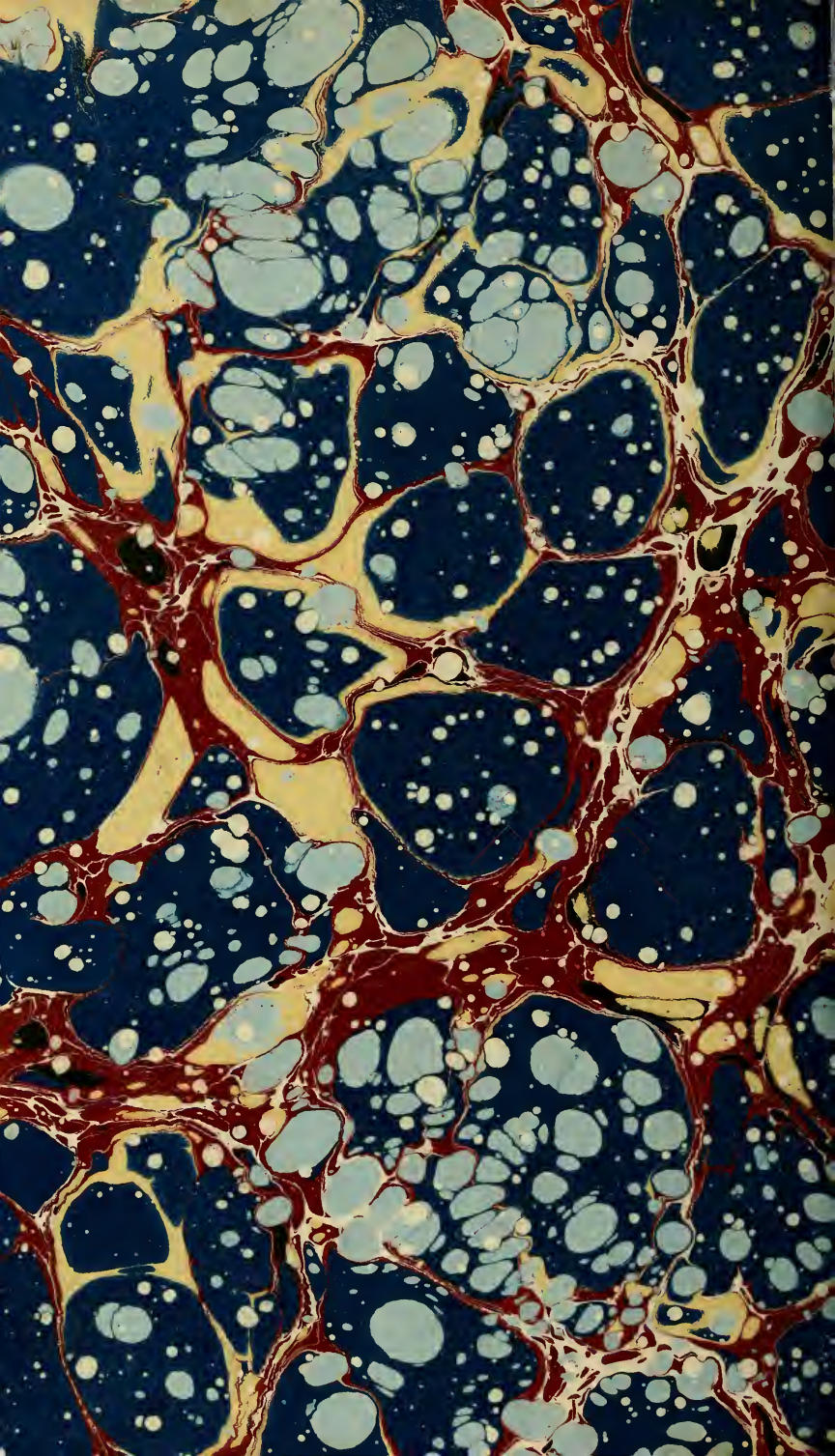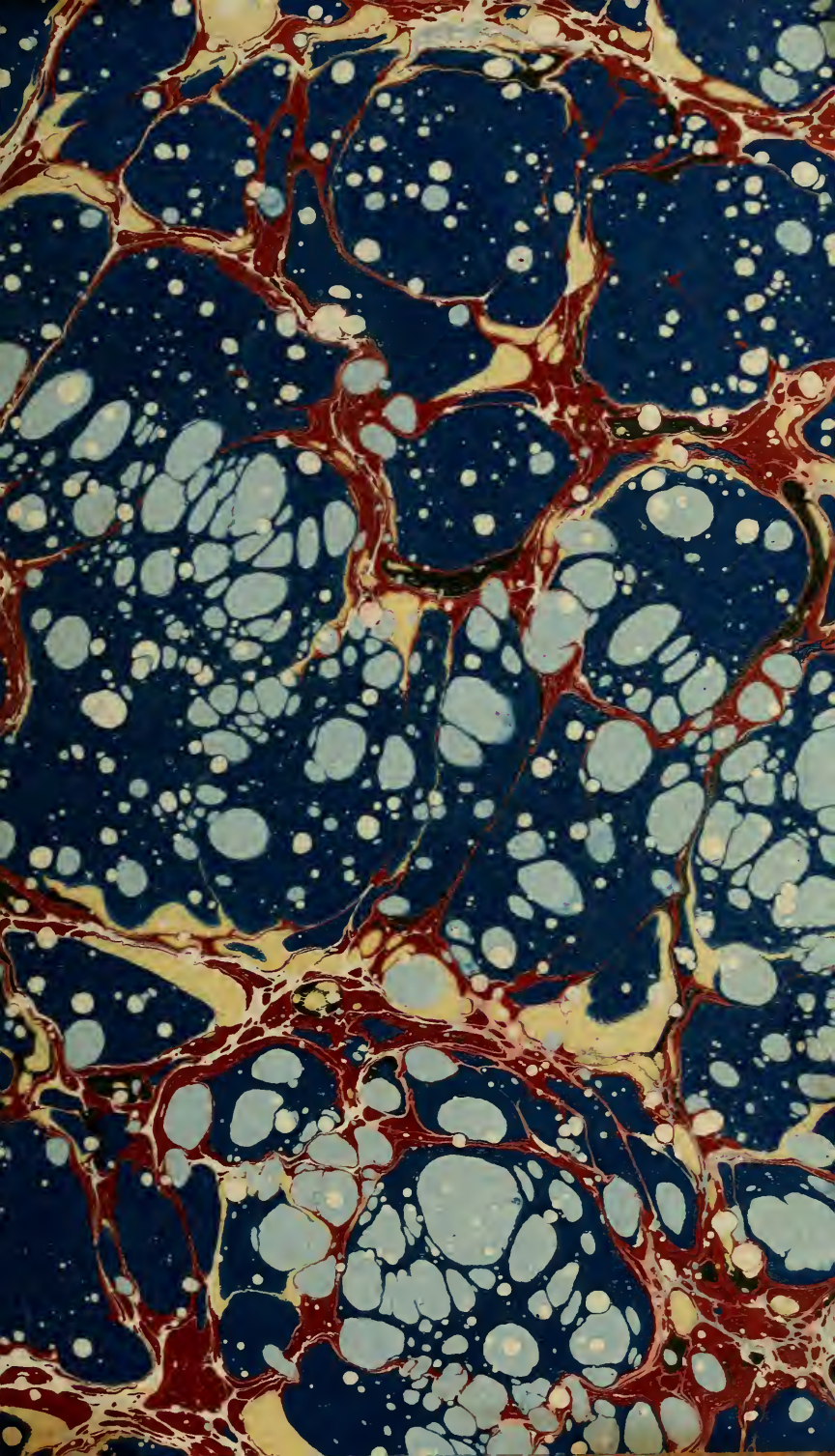
143. note † l. 14. r. 'τροπον'
165. note l. 16. after 'TRAJAN-DECIUS' add 'GALLUS'
168. l. 5. r. 'AURELIAN'
195. note l. 5. r. 'Dion-Chryſoſtom'
197. l. 7. For 'with' r. 'by'
224. note ‡ l. 2. r. 'μελη.'
227. note l. 6. fr. the bottom. r. 'μα γαρ'
— l. 9. fr. the bottom r. 'wine'
243. is miſpaged
247. note * l. 4. r. 'Τυχης
248. note ‡ l. *ult.* r. '*Löus*'
304. note ‡ l. 1. r. 'Bithynia'
312. note * l. 3. r. 'WOLFIUS'
317. note ‡ l. 2. dele 'or laſt'
323. l. 3. For 'it' r. 'at'
— note * r. MDCCXXIId.
328. l. 6. For 'on' r. in.